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THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR

in
Political, Economic and Socio-cultural Perspective
(1846-1885 A.D.)

Parveena Akhtar

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PREFACE

The climax of medieval ages in Kashmir is presented under the early Dogra regime, when the political transformation found a way in a different style, unique in its character. Though Kashmir had witnessed a long chain of invaders who came in quick succession one following the other but this time it was not an intrigue, a conspiracy, an invasion or a conquest but a "Sale". The 'sale of Kashmir as a lifeless commodity by some foreign agency to an alien for an amount in cash and kind. The irony of the fact is that the land was sold along with its people very cheaply. This transaction was not dealt on spot but at a place three hundred miles away from the land in sale. This political deal resulted in the changing of outlook on political, administrative, social, economic and cultural spheres of life, both on the part of rulers and the ruled. The ruler looked into the situation and the newly purchased territory as an investment like a businessman, a trader and an entrepreneur. They looked into the liquidity and profitability of the investment. As such whenever they found a chance they tried to utilize the same in the exaction of the profits. The ruled along with the total environment, on the other hand, became the target group to satisfy the needs as well as the server of opportunities to the political authorities to make money. Such a relationship saw its repercussions in the form of a new political ideology, in its turn influencing all the fields of man's life in the society.

The book is an attempt to answer the different connected questions regarding the problem. This book is the offshoot of my Ph.D. thesis on the conditions of the people of Kashmir (1846-1885 A.D.) submitted in the Department of History, University of Kashmir, in 1989. Though the thesis tried to examine maximum of the socio-political, economic and cultural aspects of the problem, yet I could find the need of analysis of many factors and forces with the help of inter-disciplinary and

integrated approach to complete the picture. The causation needed more in depth study to arrive at a conclusion. Further, my experience in IGNOU as a counselor to many courses on social sciences. Preparatory courses in social science—(PSS). Foundation Course in Humanities and Social Sciences—(FHS). Elementary Course in Indian History—(EHI), Masters Course in History—(MHI) added new dimensions of knowledge, experience and understanding in the field of social sciences. Another most important turn towards the field Behavioural Science "Education" in the Government College of Education, helped me in the analysis of our present day educational problems of the society. Here, the need for teacher education was felt, which I took and it influenced my writing of this book. These experiences resulted in the evolving of my holistic approach towards the present study to consider all the problems and issues regarding the Man's material; and nonmaterial (body and soul) culture for the specific period of time.

It is true that many writers have already made significant contribution to the study of present problem, still if this humble attempt of mine throws some light on the subject, I will consider myself completely rewarded.

I am deeply grateful to my parents who provided me the right education from my childhood both formal and informal, the former initiated by my father and later by my mother. I am immensely thankful to my elder brother, Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Pandit, who encouraged me academically as well as morally to accomplish the task of publishing this book. I am thankful to my younger brother and sister for their love and affection dring the course of my studies. I am grateful to late Dr. Z.L. Jalla, who was my supervisor at Ph.D. programme and from that 'ocean of knowledge' I was able to gather some drops. May God bestow peace upon his soul. I am thankful to Dr. Mohammad Ashraf Wani, Head, Department of History, University of Kashmir for his timely help and valuable suggestions. I owe deep gratitude to Dr. Adbul Majid Mattoo, Ex-Director, Centre of Central Asian

Studies, for studying my base work and providing a framework for shaping the present book. I am equally thankful to Dr. Mohammad Ashaq Khan as being a best teacher for me and for getting research training at his feet as an M-Phil student in 1982 in the Department of History, University of Kashmir. I am greatly thankful to Prof. Mehmooda Nazki, Principal Govt. College of Education, M.A. Road, Srinagar, for her helping attitude towards the continuation of my different academic works. I am also thankful to Dr. M.Y. Magrey for his valuable suggestions during the completion of this work. I am greatly indebted to my friend Dr. Bilquees Shair for being my inspiration and symbol of encouragement in my different academic pursuits, including this work. I am thankful to the Library staff of the University of Kashmir and Govt. College of Education for making available some rare books to me concerning the present study. I am immensely thankful to Mr. Mudasir Ahmad Dar and Mrs. Aamina Parveen for publishing this book, without their painstaking attitude it was impossible for me to complete the work.

I am thankful to my husband Mr. Hilal Ahmad Shah for his co-operation who helped me to continue my academic concerns, without which it could have been impossible for me to complete the work. I am equally grateful to my children Ana and Irfan for being patient and co-operative during my academic pursuits.

Parveena Akhtar Pandit

ABBREVIATIONS

JAR	Jammu Archives Repository.
PMS	Persian Manuscript.
RPD	Research and Publication Department.
SAR	Srinagar Archives Repository.

CONTENTS

SECTION–III

Socio-Cultural Setup

INTRODUCTION

In the mid nineteenth century Kashmir witnessed the most burgeoning historical catastrophic event—the Treaty of Amritsar, signed on 16th of March, 1846 A.D. The treaty legalised the sale of Kashmir along with its people by the British East India Company to a Dogra Raja of Jammu, Gulab Singh, for an amount of rupees seventy-five lacs. The article one of the treaty states, "the British Government transfers, and makes over, in independent possessions, to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravee, including Chenab and excluding Lahoul, being part of the territory ceded to the British government by the Lahore state, according to the provisions of article four of the Treaty of Lahore [1] dated March 9th 1846".[2] The treaty made the provision in its article three that Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British government the sum of seventy-five lacs of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before the first of October of the current year, A.D. 1846 [3]. Some of the scholars have bestowed praise on both the parties of the 'sale deed'[4] and considered it "foolish and short sighted"[5] policy to criticise the event. But there was a cry from the general public and officials in England and India against the sale deed.[6] This event affected completely the political, socio-economic and all other spheres of the people's life. The bases for this new rule were laid on the principles of investment and profitability. Though Kashmir had already passed into alien hands by Mughal conquest of Kashmir in 1586 A.D. and the evidence of a large chain of invaders and conquerors coming in quick succession into the valley and imposing their rule over her people, some being humane and others cruel in approach. But this time in 1846, Kashmir witnessed a transaction to have taken place in terms of money in a way as material commodities are sold in the

open market at far off a place from Kashmir. One could find the process of economic activities involved in the purchase-investment, production and exchange. The Dogras purchased Kashmir and invested a "palty and insignificant" [7] amount of seventy five lakhs of rupees in the sale as such they tried to earn profits from all the productive resources of the valley. On many occasions one could find out the activities involved in the exchange process—the rulers received their revenues, cesses, extras in kind from the newly purchased land and its people and sometimes exchanged the items for money sent outside Kashmir. This policy influenced the whole structure institutions and proçesses of the society.

The establishment of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in 1846 A.D. saw the emergence of absolute rule of the Dogras and Monarchy continued to be the administrative authority in the state. The Maharaja was the sole proprietor of "living and non-living resources" –Human and material in the valley. The Maharaja claimed to have every right on all the sectors of the economy—the primary, secondary and tertiary. In the first category all the material resources i.e. agriculture, fishing [10] and forestry belonged to the Maharaja only, the highest Feudal Lord. The secondary sector of economy—manufacturing was also directly under the Maharaja. The "shawlbafi "[11] (manufacture of shawl) was kept under Darog-e-shawl (inspector of shawls) who was answerable to the Maharaja for all his workers, factories and processes taking place in the system of its manufacture the other industries too were considered to be the property of the Maharaja who tried to get all the possible money through taxes, cesses and exactions. The service sector—state and private, was under the control and seal of Maharaja [12]. The concept of a good government was that in which the authority of the ruler was assured by force and revenue came punctually"[13]. The early Dogra Maharaja had a strange sense of justice as is evident from the fact of installing the "weighing scale"[14] at Shergadhi for imparting justice to the people. The administrative machinery worked on a pyramidal shape. at the top was the Maharaja.

exercising highest authority and the chief lord of the land, then descended the governors or subehdars –incharge of a division of the state—who were frequently transferred [15] and their uncertainty led to the amassing of wealth on their part, resulting in corruption, imposition of exorbitant taxes and exactions. The governors were followed by a number of Jagirdars, Muafidars, Mukararidars, Chakdars in charge of certain portion of land to collect revenue and render military services to the state[16]. They were not permanently jobbed but it depended on the circumstances and the will of the Maharaja, which determined their tenure of office. To complete the ladder of service sector a long chain of officials from Tehsildars to dooms existed who worked on the choice of the authorities.[17]

In the valley the agriculture formed the backbone of the economy and the land tenure was that of the "Royatwari in Ruins" and the peasants were holding the land as "Haq-i-assami" or tenants at will and enjoyed the occupancy rights only so long as they paid the government dues and on failures they could be ejected [19]. The peasant had neither proprietary rights nor enjoyed the rights of sale or mortgage of his land [20]. They were landless labourers working as serfs of the absentee landlords."[21] The landlordism was the result of the revenue system. The peasants had to feed the state and were left with meager portion of produce to satisfy their needs. They often sought protection with the influential persons who came to constitute a link between the cultivator and the state. This agency became the landlord and rented the land to the peasants on medieval conditions of exploitation [22]. The agricultural operations were carried as per routine existing for long in the valley, no improvement was noticed in the agricultural implements, though crops produced were enough to meet the both ends of the peasants but the irregular revenue system, [23] heavy taxation and exorbitant cesses made the life of the producers miserable. The institution of "Begar" (forced labour) was fastened during the period under study. A large number of expeditions to the out skirts of the valley led by the rulers were made possible by the use of

Begarees (forced labours) to carry the provisions to far off places such as Gilgit and Chilas[24]. The natural calamities added to the problems of the people. The state attitude was indifferent towards famine stricken people rather than that of making provisions for their relief from unforeseen catastrophies. There is the evidence of boat loads of famine-stricken people being drowned in Wular lake in the famines of 1864-65 and 1877-78[25]. The arts and crafts, trade and industry too were taxed exorbitantly. [26]

The new economic policy resulted in the modification of behaviour of the people and social changes were found. The society was divided into many stratas and each strata trying for its survival by fuel and fair means. Though the process of acculturation and assimilation was going on but the change in economic fields led to many bitter relationships among the people based on suspicion and fear. The stratification of the society was based on caste and class.

The present subject with sale of Kashmir and its effects on political, socio-economic and cultural life of the people has stimulated much of the scholarly attention than any other issue. The problem requires an in-depth study. Though a number of works have tried to ponder over the complexities of the subject, yet none, of them has given a full thought over the "sale of Kashmir" and its political, socio-economic and cultural repercussions. The scholars have missed a systematic analysis of the problem during the period from 1846-1885 A.D. Many of the present day problems are deeply rooted in the mid nineteen century A.D. as such can be solved in the light of the facts deep routed in the History of Kashmir in 1846 A.D.

There are number of works who have adopted a segmented approach towards the problem or have presented a biographical picture of the then Maharajas and have left over many of the important issues which arise out of the conditions of common masses. K.M. Parikkar's *The Founding of the Kashmir State*—A biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh—1792-1858, London, 1953.

is an eulogy in favour of Maharaja Gulab Singh, same attitude can be found in Dewan Kripa Ram's *Gulab Nama*, Jammu, 1875. Salig Ram koul's, The Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh—*Founder of Jammu and Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1923, is another example of personal history of the period leaving scope for a wide range of study about the other problems to complete the picture. Likewise in Thokur Kahan Singh, Bilwaria's *Tarikh-i-Rajgar-i-Kashmir*, Lahore, 1966 (urdu), there is a narration of some aspects of the Dogra rule leaving space to many important facts to be filled up. The author talks of more political and personal events while as socio-economic, cultural and other aspects of people's life are left over. Similar account is furnished by Narsingh Das, Nargi's *Tarikh-i-Dogra Dash* (urdu) where we find a chain of facts regarding Jammu province. Prem Nath Bazaz's *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, among his other works, though focuses on some of the aspects of the period from 1846 A.D. but he has entirely concentrated on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century A.D. The author has not put much emphasis on the roots of the struggle, which lie in 1846 A.D. Fida Mohammad Hussain's *British Policy Towards Kashmir, (Kashmir in Anglo-Russian Politics)* New Delhi, 1977, is primarily a study of Britishers concerns on Kashmir, their relations with the Maharajas and raising of cries over the injustice done in Kashmir. There is a very little of information regarding the sale of Kashmir and socio-economic conditions of the people during this period. M.L. Kapur's *Kashmir, Sold and Snatched*, 1968, contains information on different aspects and issues regarding the sale of Kashmir but misses a number of outcomes of the event. Ayur Nath Sapru's *The Building of the Jammu and Kashmir State*—being the achievement of Maharaja Gulab Singh, Ed. H.L.O. Garret, Lahore, 1931 and Satinder Singh Bawas's, *The Jammu Fox*—A biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh, 1792-1857, U.S.A. 1974 can be called a partial assessment of the early Dogra period.

The history or any other branch of social sciences has the scope to study the "Man and His Society" as a whole and not in

fragments. The man is the crown of creation, a complex, a unique and a key to understand the universe. He is to be understood both as an individual and as a member of society. This is the century of common man. The rise of the masses to complete the social power is a significant phenomenon that has effected texture of life. There is a need to talk about the facts of mankind from a new angle of vision, focussing the attention on the common man. To concentrate on only a few entities of a man would lead to a distorted picture of man. The individuals are to be understood in a spatial context i.e., their physical and geographical or his interaction with environment and vice-versa which gives rise to the varied trends in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres of man's activities and achievements. The holistic and integrated approach makes the facts to be presented not in units but as a whole.

The present work is based on integrated approach, taking advantage of topical correlation as well as chronological concentric. *The History of Kashmir in* —Political, Economic and Socio-cultural Perspective (1846-1885 A. D.) is presenting the topic of the problem along with a mention of specific time focussing on the cause and effect relationship, which presents the example of an integrated approach. Since history is concerned with the *Man in Toto* who can not be broken into pieces same can not be done with the facts of life or to the branches of knowledge. To get a complete picture of man one has to concentrate on all the facts of the life. It is thus evident that the aspects of man's life, political, social, economic and cultural constitutes a full-fledged picture of the man. As a discipline of social sciences a writer of history is supposed to take up the method of exact sciences dealing with a problem: Formation of the hypothesis, collection and observation of data, analysis, of the facts with objectivity so far as humanly possible and reaching to a conclusion is the urgency of social science research. History being concerned with man in time, the present work gives the specific time limit to avoid undue stretching of the problem and to focus on presentation and interpretátion of facts in a logical

manner. One can not reach to a conclusion if left open in the sea of time where one can not concentrate on all the facts concerning the man's life—from antiquity to the present. Since everything has its antecedents and consequences the process called development (change for better or worse) which needs to talk in terms of epochs and even as such analysis of events to be organised in an intelligible whole in the frame work of time and space is the need of hour. Thus one has to "recognise all generalization about the process of historical change for what they are—stimulate to the historical imagination or convenient formulas giving a spacious coherence to otherwise very loosely related data."[30]

In the study of *The History of Kashmir in* —Political, Economic and Socio-cultural Perspective (1846-1885 A. D.), involves a wide use of evidences found in the literary and archaeological sources lying scattered over the libraries, archives and the museums. The sources of the study spread over to pre-contemporary, contemporary and post-contemporary period to present a comprehensive picture of the "Man and His Society" in the nineteenth century as each change and development has its roots in the past and repercussions in the future. The literary sources, historical fiction, foreign accounts, archival records and oral traditions form the basis for the reconstruction of this history. These sources are available in unpublished and published—manuscripts and official records in vernacular and English languages.

The sources from the pre-contemporary period consists of Pandit Kalhana's Rajatarangini (English translation by Sir Aurel Steir) 2 vols, written in 1148-50 A.D. narrating the event of Kashmir from very remote past to 1150 A.D. Pandit Jonaraja's Rajatarangini (English translation by J.C. Dutt) Calcutta 1879, Srivara's Jaina Rajatarangini, (English translation J.C. Dutt) Calcutta 1935, Mirza Haider Doughalat's, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (English translation E. Denison Ross) London 1995 Abul Fazil's *Ain-i-Akbari* (English translation Brochmann) 2 vols., Calcutta 1927, and *Akbar Nama* (English translation Henry Beveridgs)

Calcutta, 1897. *Tarikh-i-Farishta* or *Gulshan-i-Ibrahim* (English translation Briggs) Vol. I, Akbar Hamid-ullah Kashmiri's *Akbar Nama Kabul*—Manuscript (R.P.D. Srinagar, Birbal Kachru's *Majmu-ut-Tawarikh*, MS. (R.P.D. Srinagar). Khalil Mirjan Puri's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol. II, M.S. (R.P.D. Srinagar) Mohy-ud-Din. Miskeen's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol. I & II, M.S. (R.P.D. Srinagar), all the sources belonging to pre-contemporary period can not be mentioned as such these are only a few. The contemporary sources form a wide and varied number but a few need some illustration. The most important being the *Roznamcha* of Mirza Saif-ud-Din. It is a daily diary or the news report written in Persian language. The *Roznamcha* is spread over 13 vols., dating from Nov. 1846 to 1861, written for the British resident in Punjab about the Administration of Maharaja Gulab Singh and his successor, Maharaja Ranbir Singh since the Dogras acquired the charge of government with effect from Nov. 1846. The daily diary from 1846 – 1858 A.D. was written by Saif-ud-Din Mirza. There is a gap from August 1858 to December 1858 and no diary is available for the year 1859 A.D. the diary for the year 1860 was written by Mirza Qamar-ud-Din, the brother of Saif-ud-Din Mirza and from Dec. 12, 1860 to 1861, it was written by their youngest brother Mohy-ud-Din Mirza, *The Roznamcha*, is also known as *Saif-ud-Din Papers*. These furnish us rich and valid information about the socio-economic, cultural, judicial and other aspects of life from 1846-1861 A.D. as such is a valuable eye witness day to day account for the present study. Its one copy is available in Research and Publication Department, University of Kashmir and the other at British National Library.

Tarikh-i-Farman Rewan-e-Mulik-i-Kashmir is an account written by Afzala Kishtiwari in Persian language. The poet has depicted the history of Kashmir with special emphasis on Ahmad Shah Durari, Maharaja Gulab Singh, Maharaja Ranbir Singh. This is an example of Historical fiction consisting of two parts.

Ahwal-i-Tashrief Aawari wa Mulaqat-i-Afsaran wa Lords British Government wa Maharaja Ranbir Singh Kashmir, is a

record of interviews of British officials and lords with Maharaja Ranbir Singh (Kashmir) and other Maharajas of India. No doubt very little information is available in this work on our subject but whatever information it contains is helpful and covers the period from 1842 to 1887 A.D.

Durbhik Rsatrarodayastan. is an important historical fiction written by Ishwar Koul. The manuscript is written in Sanskrit language and is a poetical satire. It throws light on the contemporary administration and the state of affairs under Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The poem beautifully depicts the socio-economic conditions of the famine stricken people of Kashmir in 1877-1879 A.D. During the period under study no one had the courage to criticise the government policy for fear of punishment as such the poet has described the events in satirical expression. Moulvi Ghulam Gousia's *Insha-i-Ranbir*, Ghulam Nabi Khanyari's *Wajiz-u-Tawarikh*, Shah Ram Koul's *Noubahar-i-Kashmir*, Mir Saif-Ullah's *Tarikh Nama Kashmir*, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir* of Munshi Ganeshi Lal, Kripa Ram's *Gulab Nama*, Jammu 1875, and *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, Lahore, 1870, Padri Rajab Ali's *Riasat-i-Jammu wa Kashmir kai Taluqat Angreze Government, Sai* (R.P.D. Srinagar) furnish valuable information regarding the contemporary period. However, many unpublished and published official and unofficial records are also available in the form of files and Administrative Reports (found in J&K Archives, both at Jammu and Kashmir), Gazetteers, *Dasturul-Amals* Micro-films and eye witness account of the travelers on pre, post and contemporary period.

The unforgettable contribution of some foreign travellers in the form of recording the existing conditions of the place, is also taken into thorough study. The Robert Throps', *Kashmir Misgovernment* (who sacrificed his life for Kashmiris cause) furnish a concrete picture of socio-economic life in early Dogra period. Similarly the *Wromgs of Kashmir* by Arthur Brickman, *Condemened Unheard* by William Dighy; Travels in *Ladakh*, Tartary and Kashmir by H.D. Torrens, *Journals* by Sir Richard Temple, *Forty-one Years in India* by Roberts; *Travel Account* by

the two brothers Arthur Neve and E.F. Neve. *Our Visits to Hindustan, Kashmir and Ladakh* by Anesley. *Where Three Empires Meet,* by E.F. Knight. *The Valley of Kashmir* and *the India We Saved* by W.R. Lawrence are the accounts which furnish information and eye witness details about different aspects of life in the then Kashmir. The above information about the sources is a brief evaluation of a few and important ones. The bibliography of the sources used in the preparation of the book is given at the end. Some of the woks on post-contemporary period consulted to analyse the repercussions of the events taken place during the period under study, are *Aurq-i-Tarikh-i-Kashmir.* Anonymous (RPD) Srinagar. *Maharaj Nama* by Genesh Das (Historical Fiction on Maharaja Pratab Singh) RPD. Srinagar. *Guldast-i-Kashmir* by Hargopal Koul Khasta, Logans Micro film which is a report on the financial conditions of the Kashmir State in 1890, we have also some general works describing the major events of History of Kashmir from ancient to modern period. The important being the G.M.D. Sufi's *Kashir,* Vol.2. and M.Y. Saraf's *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom,* Vol. 2. later has taken the thread of events from 1819 A.D. (beginning of Sikh rule to 1978 A.D.) Moulvi Hassan Shah *Khuihami's Tarikh-i-Hassan,* Vol. 4. P.N.K. Bamzai's *A History of Kashmir*—political, social and cultural are some examples.

The oral traditions have also been utilized for the analysis of socio-economic and political forces during the period under study, to this end apart from consulting elderly personalities Rev. J. Hinton Knowle'ss (C.M.S.) Compilation and arrangement of some of the proverbs of kashmir in "A Dictionary of Kashmir Proverbs and sayings". Trubner, London 1885, which is full of information regarding the customs and character of the people. Some articles on the proverbs of Kashmir found in *The Culture of Kashmir*, by S.M. Iqbal and K.L. Nirash have been consulted. Pt.S. Kashkari's *The Wit of Kashmir* and Kashmir Today's, *The Folklore of Kashmir* are important contribution in the book—*The Culture of Kashmir,* though these proverbs can be the exaggerated expressions of feelings and experiences of the man.

but there can be found some significant facts of human society. In the book significant use of proverbs and poetical expressions also have been illustrated to get an accurate picture of the people.

The Culture of Kashmir by S.M. Iqbal and K. L. Nirash is worth note. Pt. S. Kashkari's. *The Wit of Kashmir and Kashmir Today's*. The folklore of Kashmir are important contribution in the book—the culture of Kashmir. Though these proverbs can be the exaggerated expressions of feelings and experiences of the men, but there can be found some significant facts of human society. In the book significant use of proverbs and poetical expressions also have been used to get an aciculate picture of the people.

The present subject *A History of Kashmir—Political, Economic and Socio-cultural Perspective (1846-1885 A.D.)* is divided into three sections for facilitation of analysis of the facts. The first section namely Political and Administrative Machinery has four chapters on the rise of Gulab Singh; to Power, Sale of Kashmir and Foundation of Jammu and Kashmir State; Consolidation of the Kingdom; Administrative Machinery. The section second of the book *Economic Analysis* spreads over the chapters fifth to eighth discussing the Agrarian System and Production of Crops; Effects of Famine and Natural Calamities; Land Revenue Assessment and Institution of Begar; It also analyses the Urban Life with a focus on Arts and Crafts; Trade, Commerce and Industries. The section third from ninth to eleventh chapters entitled Socio-cultural Setup makes an analysis of the Standard of Living of the people, highlighting the Class Stratification and Traditions, Customs, Education, Religion and Medical Life of the people. After analysing the political, socio-economic and cultural aspects of period, a conclusion is arrived, which is added at the end of the chapters, as any social science study is incomplete without drawing a conclusion. Some of the appendixes have been added to form a vivid picture of actual facts and figures throwing light on the life of people under study. A genealogical table has been appendixed to show the genealogy of the rulers (Dogras) who governed the valley from 1846—

1947 A.D. (one hundred years). The two treaties—Treaty of Lahore, Feb, 1846 and Treaty of Amritsar, 16th of March 1846 have been appended to comprehend the different clauses and provisions regarding the Sale of Kashmir. The final receipt of the payment (cost of Kashmir) 1850 A.D. has been appended to know that the valley was sold along its people in installments. The appendix fifth Koul and Rasum makes clear the taxes and cesses paid by the peasants and other people towards the state. The two table routes to Gilgit and Chilas fall at appendix sixth and seventh respectively to realise and empathise the hardships of the people of Kashmir while performing Begar (forced labour) to the far off places. At the end of this book a detailed bibliography is given to make identification of sources on which the present work has been reconstructed.

References

1. The Treaty of Lahore was signed on March 9, 1846, by the British Government with Lahore Darbar after the battle of Sabroan, 10th Feb, 1846. See Appendix No. I
2. The Treaty of Amritsar, 16th March, 1846. Appendix No.II.
3. Ibid.
4. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the then president of National Conference to cabinet mission in India, 1946. Cited Teng, Bhatt, Koul, *Kashmir Constitutional History and Documents*, New Delhi, 1977, P. 172.
5. Pannikar, Sardar, *The Founding of Kashmir State*—A biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh (1792-1858), London, 1953, pp. 100-104; James P. Ferguson, *Kashmir—A Historical Introduction*, London, 1961, P. 56.

6. L. Griffin, Punjab Chief quotes the justice Dixon, United Sates Mediator who describes the sale of the people in 1846 "as a people of song and story" cited Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, Ed. Gudru, S.N. *Kashmir Papers*, Srinagar, 1975. Bazaz, Prem Nath, *struggle For Freedom in Kashmir*, P. 183, Delhi 1954, comments that the people were sold like "sheep and cattle".

7. Detailed Analysis in the Chapter II : Wakefield, W. *The happy Valley*, Delhi, 1975, P.86.

8. Ibid.

9. Knight E.F., *Where Three Empires Meet*, a narration of recent travels in Kashmir, western Tibet, Gilgit and the adjoining countries, London, 1993, P. 62, 74.

10. Evidence of banning of fish on the death of Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1856 as priests interdicted that Maharaja's soul has transmigrated into fish.

11. Tylor R.C. Diary, June 28th to July 3rd, 1847, P.75; Younghusband, Sir Francis, *Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1970, P. 178, *Gazetteers of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 113; Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 390.

12. The contemporary and secondary sources reveal instances of Harassment on State officers who were Baqidars of revenue as Muqqadams and Tehsildars. The state officials were appointed, retired, transferred and dismissed on the will of the Maharaja. The uncertainty of their tenure resulted in irregularities in administration. See Chapter IV.

13. Drew, F. *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, New Delhi, 1976, P.13; Vigne, G.T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardo*, Vol. 2, London, 1842 Voll, P.241.

14. Saif-ud-Din, Mirza, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IX, f. 175, dated 13 Sept. 1856.

15. See Chapter IV.

16. Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, pp, 255-256, The

author has quoted a contemporary Newspaper. "India Public Opinion", then published from North India, which reports through out the year, the villagers men, women and children are turned out each morning at the sound of a drum to work in gangs under alien task-masters, at a husbandry of which they are not to reap the benefits. When ripe, the crops of each village are stored in open air or granaries strictly guarded and when, after many weeks and even months delay, the whole produce of the country has been duly calculated and valued, the grain is doled out in quantities just sufficient to keep life and soul together", to use the words of Colonel Markham".

17. Qmar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XII, dated 27th Feb. 1860. F 23. Indian public opinion, Newspaper, issue of the 23rd Nov. 1866, quoted in Kashmir Raj, Lucullus, P. 97, of Saraf, *Kashmiris Fought For Freedom*, Vol. 1, P. 257.

18. Wingate, pp. 18-19.

19. Saif-ud-Din. Mirza *Roznamcha*, Vol II, dated Nov. 1, 1850, Folio 142. The author has noted the incident that Maharaja Gulab Singh once moving about the land of Guru Baba, was met by a lady who complained, "we are the hereditary residents of Kashmir and we had built a 'Pucca House'. But a Sepoy demolished the house saying he would build a house fcr himself on the spot", the Maharaja replied "The land owner is some one else. The Nazim (Hakim Ala) or the Hakim (Kotwal) the builder of a house is the owner of only the material (stones, bricks, wood etc.) and not of the land."

20. Neve, E.F. *Beyond The Pir Panjal*, P.57; *Gazeetter of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 126; Wingate, P. 28; Bazaz, P.N. *Inside Kashmir*, P. 58.

21. Knight E.F. op. cit. pp. 77-78.

22. Wingate, op. cit, P-27; Bazaz, *Struggle For Freedom*, op. cit, P. 144; Knight, op. cit., pp.77-78.

23. Lawrence, Sir Walter, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. The words, Batta, *Batta Ti Piyadipati* was often heard which translate to "we are crying for the food but the tax collecter is always after us": Josef Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, P.210.

24. 24a. Neve, Arthur, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, P. 140: Saif-u-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. X, dated 22nd Dec. 1859: thorp, Robert, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit., pp. 76-77: Lawrence *The valley of Kashmir*, P. 413.

25. 24b. Neve, Arthur, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, pp. 30-31: Mrs. Anesley, *our Visits to Hindustan, Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 293, F.N.I.

26. Ibid.

27. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 316, 372.

28. Pierre Teilhard De Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man*, Collirs, London, 1959, P.32. The author writes, "Men are committed body and soul to the network of relationships......"

29. Rickman, H.P., *Meaning in History*, Dilthey's, thoughts on *History and Society*, London 1961, P. 36. The author records the views of Dilthey that historian concerns himself with elusive entities such as classes, nations and ages, even worse, with the religious spirit of an age, the will of a nation or the interests of a state.

30. Galbraith, V.H., *The Historian at Work*, BBC Publication, P.5. "The author writes while giving the essence of time factor that if time were to standstill, history would soon cease, once the existing evidence was fully shifted."

31. Bashan, A.L., *The Indian Sub-Continent in the Historical Perspective*, P. 5.

Section—I

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

RISE OF GULAB SINGH

Gulab Singh[1] entered the Sikh army as a trooper and joined the royal camp in[2] 1809. He assisted Maharaja Ranjit Singh in various battles viz., the Battle of Darah, the Battle of Samarath Fort, the Battle of Saidu, the Battle of Peshawar and the Battle of Garh Daurala[3] and played a prominent part in all these compaigns. After the seig of Multan in 1819, next year in 1820 Gulab Singh was rewarded with the possession of the province of Jammu[4] and the title of 'Raja' was conferred on him. He conquered Kishtwar in 1821[5]. By 1835 Gulab Singh had become the most important feudatory of Ranjit Singh. He extended his control over Ladakh and Baltistan in 1837 and 1839[6] respectively. Maharaja Ranjit Singh died on 27th June, 1839. His death resulted in weakening the Sikh kingdom. One king succeeded another, some were killed, others died, and there were conspiracies in the Lahore Durbar[7]. In 1841, the Sikh Governor General Mahan Singh was murdered in Kashmir and kanwar Partab Singh, the ten year old prince and son of Maharaja Sher Singh was instructed to proceed there at the head of a strong contingent under the charge of Gulab Singh[8]. He restored peace in the valley and Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din was appointed as the Governor of Kashmir[9].

The whole of Sikh kingdom was thrown into turmoil due to the collapse of the central authority at Lahore[10]. The Sikh forces of the State showed the signs of disobedience[11] and were clamoring for the increase in salary.

It resulted in many conspiracies and intrigues which caused the death of Sher Singh, his son Pratab Singh and Dogra brothers Dhian Singh[12] and Suchet Singh, and other sardars like Rae Kesari, Hira Singh, Sohan Singh[13], Dalip Singh, an infant was already placed on throne in 1843. Under these conditions, Lal Singh[14] became the Prime Minister of Lahore on 8th Nov. 1845 and appointed Tej Singh as the Commander-in-chief of the Sikh army.

In 1841 when disaster overtook the British men in Afghanistan, they needed the Sikh co-operation[15], which had been denied to the British by Ranjit Singh at the time of first Afghan war. But Gulab Singh thought it as a suitable occasion to secure the friendship of the British[16]. Gulab Singh, allowed the British army to pass through the Sikh territory of Punjab for the expedition to Afghanistan in 1841. No doubt, the British forces met with defeat in Afghanistan but it proved fortunate to the future of Gulab Singh.

The Sikh troops crossed the River Sutlej on December 11, 1845 and were prepared to destroy the Sikhs[17] in the first Sikh war of 1845-46 at Mudki on Dec. 1845. In the battle Raja Gulab Singh assumed the role of an "advisor and mediator" for the British[18]. Gulab Singh had an understanding with British to the effect that "the Sikh army should be openly abandoned by its own Government, and further, that the passage of the Sutlej should be unopposed and the road to the capital laid open to the victors"[19]. Still the Sikh soldiers of Lahore Darbar fought bravely and many were killed in the battle-field. While the campaign was going against the Sikhs, Gulab Singh arrived in Lahore, alongwith his forces. Rani Jindan sent Bhai Ram Singh, Raja Dina Nath and other Sardars to receive him[20]. The Rani bestowed on him the "Khilat of Wazarat"[21] on 27th Jan. 1846. The Britishers came out successful on February 18, 1846. Rani Jindan asked Gulab Singh to settle the peace terms, he reached

Kasur, sent a marasala of peace to the British, regretting Sikh invasion, through Lala Chuni Lal, Harkara Bashi[22]. Gulab Singh received the reply from Sir Henry Lawrence assuring the personal friendliness towards him[23]. The other problems were being discussed behind the curtain for securing the co-operation of Gulab Singh[24]. After full discussions, the Treaty of Lahore[25] was signed. The Lahore Government was charged with a war indemnity of one and half crore of rupees. This Treaty recognized Dalip Singh as the ruler of Punjab and the country between Beas and Sutlej to be handed over to the British. The Lahore Government unable to pay the sum, ceded the forts, territories, rights and interests in the hill countries situated between the river Beas and the Indus, including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara[26].

The Governor-General thought of planting Gulab Singh as an ally of the British in the rear of the Sikhs, so as to break their back[27]. Though Lord Harding[28] knew the attitude of Gulab Singh, yet he conferred the territories of the province of Kashmir on him by a separate treaty—The Treaty of Amritsar[29]—signed on 16th March 1846 at Amritsar.

References

1. Kripa Ram, Diwan, *Gulabnama,* P. 87. Gulab Singh was born on 5th Kotak, 1849 corresponding to 21st October, 1792 A. D. Some doubt has been casted on the genealogy of Gulab Singh's family as Cunningham, J. D., *History of Sikhs,* P. 178 writes that "Gulab Singh….. claimed that his grandfather was the brother of the well-known Ranjit Deo, but the family was perhaps illegitimate, and had become impoverished…." But Panikkar, *The Founding of Kashmir State,* pp. 14-15, writes that

"Kishore Singh married a Rajput lady of the Jit caste", the marriage was celebrated at the village Gan Mehta at Basoli and by this lady were born his three sons Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh. See Appendix No.: I Genealogical Table of the Family of Jammu Rajas.

2. Kirpa Ram, Diwan, *Gulabnama*, pp. 104-105. The author says that Gulab Singh entered the Sikh army in 1809 at Daska, a village few miles from Sialkot at 200 rupees salary, his brother Dhian Singh was appointed at the salary of Rs. 60/- then his another brother Suchet Singh also joined the Sikh Durbar. Ananymous, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, F/35-a and F/36-B (RPD. Manuscript No.: 170).

3. Dhar, Ram Joo, *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Shahi Dogra*. F/23-a (MS. No.: 2445). Rajab Ali Sahib, Padri, *Riayasat-i-Jammu-wa-kashmir ke Taluqat Angrezi Government*. see F/10-B. Kripa Ram Diwan, Gulabnama, 188-190, P. 173-178, pp. 118-119 and 170-171.

4. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, F/14-a. Kripa Ram, Diwan. *Gulabnama*.

5. Kripa Ram Diwan, *Gulabnama*, pp. 141-142.

6. Dhar, Ram Jeo, *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Shahi Dogra*. F/23-a Kripa Ram, Diwan, *Gulabnama*, pp. 244-263.

7. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, op. cit. F/46-a to 48-a.

8. Kripa Ram, Diwan, *Gulabnama*, pp. 232-233.

9. Sheikh Gulam Mohi-ud-din was the first Muslim Governor under the Sikhs. He had been to Kashmir twice, before his appointment as Governor *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 778. He defeated the Bombas who had risen against the Sikhs. Kachru, Birbal, *Majma-ut-Tawarikh* (Manuscript No. 14, RPD. unamity of f. 327, see also, Tarikh-i-jammu, op. cit. f. 49-b.

10. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, op. cit. f. 50-b and 51-a.

11. Cunnigham, J. D. *A History of the Sikhs*, P. 212

12. Dhian Singh was the brother of Gulab Singh, and in 1818 he was given the charge of Deodhi-the command of the doorway-Kripa Ram, *Gulabnam*, pp. 132-133. Even during Ranjit Singh's life he was bestowed with the title of Raja and had assumed the role of kingmaker, Cunningham, J. D. *History of the Sikhs*, P. 201. Then he became the Chief Minister of Kharak Singh and was granted the title of "Enlightened Minister-the Head of the Administration" by the Bilawaria Governor General, Lord Hastings-Kahan Singh, Thakur, *Tarikh-i-Rajagan-i-jammu wa Kashmir*. P. 137.

13. Sohan Singh was also known by the name of Mian Randhir Singh, he was the second son of Maharaja Gulab Singh. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, pp. 290-291.

14. Sardar Lal Singh was the son of Misser Jassa Mal, scribe in Ranjit Singh's treasury, and Lal Singh got the same position in 1836 after his father's death. He-rose to the position of chief treasurer in 1843 and was a great favourite of Rani Jindan. His illegal relations with the Rani aroused the feelings of anemity in the army against him. Cunningham, J. D. *History of the Sikhs*, P.283, Honigberger, Dr. J. M., *Thirty-five Year in the East*, P.124.

15. Hasrat Bikramajit, *The Punjab Papers*, P. 57. From Ellenborough to the Duke of Willington (Private), 26th October, 1841-PRO 30/12 (28/12), 1844, P.3.

16. Pannikkar, K. M. *The Founding of the Kashmir State*—A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh, 1792-1858, op. cit., P. 49.

17. Governor-General's Despatch to secret Committee No: 15-December, 1845. Cited Hasnain, F. M., *British Policy towards Kashmir*, P. 13. See also Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*.

P.325. Mohi-ud-din Haji, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Kashmir, Vol. II. (MS). F/108a-b.

18. Josef Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, P. 13. The author writes "at first he remained strictly neutral, then he assumed the role of adviser and mediator for the British and finally....he actively participated in fighting his one-time protectors." Even the biographer of Gulab Singh, Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, P.327 accepts that Gulab Singh showed no interest in the affairs of war. No doubt, he puts forward other reasons of his waiting for the summons from Rani Jindan, he could not join the affair. Ganesh Dasvedhera, *Rajdarshani*, P. 206. See also the *Punjab Papers*, P. 101. *Lord Hardings to His wife*, 31st January, 1846, Ferozepore.

19. J. D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, P. 279.

20. Kripa ram, *Gulabnama*, P. 328. See Cunningham, J. D., *History of the Sikhs*, P. 275, Ganesh Das Vedhana, *Rajdarshani*, P. 207.

21. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, P. 328.

22. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, op. cit. F/58-b 59-a., Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, P. 329.

23. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, pp. 329-330. Letter from Sir Henry Lawrence to Gulab Singh—dated 11th February, 1846.

24. *Marasala* from Major Lawrence to Gulab Singh 13th February, 1846. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, P. 331.

25. *The Treaty of Lahore*, See Appendix No: (II)

26. *The Punjab Papers*, pp. 102-103. *Lord Hardinge to his wife*, 31st January, 1846, camp Ferozepora, writes "....I shall require him (Maharaja) to present the keys of Lahore and Govindgarh, and to surrender every piece of cannon that has been pointed against the British army. I take from them a fertile district which improves our frontier, 1½ million of money, and as they have shown themselves too strong, I hope to take

away cashmere and the hill districts declaring them independent of Lahore".

27. Cunningham, J.D., *History of the Sikhs*, P. 287. Sri Ganesh, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, F/60-b.

28. *The Punjab Papers*, P.104. *Lord Hardinge to his wife* 2nd March, 1840. Lahore. ".... The man, whom I have to deal with, Gulab Singh, is the greatest rascal in Asia. Unfortunately it is necessary to improve his condition because he did not participate in war against us and his territory touches ours. We can protect him without inconvenience and give him a slice of the Sikh territory which balances his strength in the same degree against their's and as he is geographically our ally. I must forget he is a rascal and treat him better than he deserves".

29. *The Treaty of Amritsar*, Appendix No: (III)

SALE OF KASHMIR AND FOUNDATION OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE

By the Treaty of Amritsar, signed on 16th of March, 1846. Kashmir was sold to Gulab Singh, for a sum of seventy five lakhs of rupees.[1] Nanakashahi along with the independent hereditary rights of governing it were conferred by the article (I) of the Treaty.

The Treaty of Amritsar was one of the steps of the general policy of the British of subordinate union with native states. The Treaty got bared the principle that "friends and enemies of one shall be friends and enemies of both"[2]. The Treaty of Amritsar with the articles (I) and (III) has attracted the attention of all and evoked strong condemnation. The East India Company, a trading agency had its main concern for the acquisition of money[3], for which they left no chance and the sale of Kashmir was one of such opportunities for the company.

The defenders of the Treaty point out that the British East India Company was not at that time in a position to conquer the valley[4]. It is evident that it was merely due to the English threat that Kashmiris under Sheikh-Imam-ud-Din surrendered to Gulab Singh in 1846. Lord Hardings while writing to a near relative points out the reasons for the transfer of Kashmir as: "It was necessary last March to weaken the Sikhs by depriving them of Kashmir. The distance from Kashmir to the Sutlej is 300 miles of very difficult mountainous country quite impracticable for six months. To keep a British force 300 miles from any possibility of support would have been an undertaking that merited a strait-waistcoat and not a peerage. The arrangement made was the only alternative. The government took away with one hand and gave

with the other as the exigencies of the case required, and as regards the honesty of the transaction, the names of Currie and Lawrence are a sufficient guarantee. Gulab Singh's character was not without reproach, but where was the native chief or minister to be found without similar blots on his escutcheon". Lord Hardinge has defended himself for this act because he could easily foresee the opposition in Britain, against the sale, justified his action in anticipation, for concluding the Treaty of Amritsar[5]. But his arguments and his statements were conflicting and contradictory. It is clear from various communications of Lord Hardinge that he considered Gulab Singh to be not "militarily nor mentally' great, but a "cruel tyrant"[6]. But regardless of all this he transferred Kashmir to him[7]. It is also clear from Hardinge's communications that Ellenborough considered this act as treacherous but Hardinge supported the sale[8].

The defenders of the sale also claim that Gulab Singh remained loyal to Lahore Durbar[9] upto the last and "endeavored to secure the best terms possible for Dhuleep Singh[10]. But the fact remains, which is historically true, that Rani Jindan, Queen Regent, when heard of the transfer of Kashmir to Gulab Singh, sent her agents Raja Dina Nath, Fakir Nur-ud-Din and Bhai Ram Singh to Henry Montgomery, Lawrence and Frederick Currie conveying her total opposition to the proposed transfer and told them if they transfer Kashmir to Gulab Singh contrary to her wishes, she would go to England and present a petition of appeal to the Queen. But no head was paid to her intervention[11]. It is equally true that Gulab Singh did not lose any of his possessions, though it was under Ranjit Singh that he had risen from a petty position to the height and became disloyal to the Durbar for his own ends[12]. Gulab Singh did not help the Lahore Durbar in its period of crisis and it was completely against the ruling spirit of the time[13].

There was a wide uproar both in England and outside against the sale of Kashmiris who were sold-as if the "people of song

and story"[14] and sold like "sheep and cattle"[15] for a "paltry and insignificant"[16] sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. These Kashmiris were sold at Amritsar, over three hundred miles away from Kashmir, without any consideration for the people, not even one of their leaders was consulted, by a Nation known for its justice[17]. The Treaty of Amritsar contains not even a single provision pertaining to the rights and interests or "humane government" of the Kashmiris[18]. Kashmir was taken and "plunged.... into all the mesiries which it has since suffered"[19]. Many among the known Englishmen have regretted the sale of Kashmir as a great "political mistake" which the they had made in a hurry[20], and the people of one religion were handed over to a person who belonged to another religion[21]. This Raja was not bound to the English advice and suggestions but was "irresponsible for any outrage or injustice he or his ministers might choose to commit, with regard to the internal administration of the country[22]. Thus the result of the sale was a bad and oppressive government[23]. The British also were found to be at loss in this transaction which proved "a source of weakness rather than strength to the great government[24]" and the Kashmiris were to be the worst sufferers.

Thus Kashmir was sold to Gulab Singh[25] for money and was transferred to him as a prize for his secretly helping[26] the British, and had to pay a little price for the territories[27] he got. Out of seventy-five lakhs of rupees fifty lakhs were to be paid at the ratification of the Treaty and twenty-five lakhs before the first October, 1846[28]. It must be pointed out that Gulab Singh was liable to pay thirty-five lakhs of rupees when Sikh army was sent to Jammu against him but paid only five lakhs. There after in Lahore he was again fined sixty eight lakhs but paid only twenty seven lakhs leaving a balance of forty one lakhs which in any case he was liable to pay to the Sikh court. Suchet Singh's treasure, buried at Firozpur, contained fifteen lakhs, seized by the English and Gulab Singh became its claimant[29]. This amount was adjusted as a part payment of the sale-price charged from

Gulab Singh[30]. So Gulab Singh purchased Kashmir legally for nineteen lakhs. He paid the stipulated amount in atleast 42 installments. The last installment was paid on 29th March, 1850[31] four years after the signing of the Treaty[32].

When the British occupied Delhi a mission of Kashmiris contacted the Britishers and urged them to take the country under their own protection but no heed was paid to their proposals[33]. An urzee was sent by the Hill chiefs to English before September 30th, 1846, expressing their "great sorrows" at the action and decided to fight. Similarly, an urzee was sent to English by the Choudrees, Manufacturers, Pandits and the inhabitants of the valley that "the English by giving this country to Raja Gulab Singh are oppressing us... But if it be that we are to have him, we shall all run away both small and great....."[34]

FALL OF THE VALLEY:

Maharaja Gulab Singh became only a nominal, de-jure, ruler of Kashmir[35] by the Treaty of Amritsar as he did not obtain the actual possession of his new provinces by signing the treaty. In the valley of Kashmir Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din had been installed as the Governor for his third term in 1841 under the orders of Lahore Durbar[36], who died in 1845 and his son, Sheikh Imam-ud-Din[37] succeeded to the office on the recommendation of the Maharaja. The following year, on March 16th, 1846 Kashmir alongwith its all the hilly and mountainious country situated eastward of the river Indus and the west-ward of the river Ravi was handed over to Gulab Singh.

Maharaja Gulab Singh sent some forces under Wazir Lakhpat Rai to take possession of Kashmir from the Sikh Governor, Sheikh Imam-ud-Din but it was a difficult task for the Wazir. He entered the valley (the plains of Maisuma) on 14th June[38] 1846 (Ist Har., 1903 B) and Wazir Lakhpat took the possession of the Fort of Hari Parbat. The dispute between the Sheikh and Lakhpat Rai arose over the transfer of Kashmir treasure alongwith its arrears[39]. Sheikh Imam-ud-Din had rallied

with more than twelve thousand men[40]. He had no intention of holding Kashmir as a servant of Gulab Singh, neither did he want to remain as a feudatory of the Sikhs. He was popular among the kashmiris and was urged by his wife, a staunch Muslim, to establish the power of Muslims in Kashmir[41]. The Sheikh wanted to become the Sultan of Kashmir and got the assistance of Bombas from the Jhelum Valley, and the western Rajas, Hazara and Gakhars awaited his action, and the winter pass-Baramulla-was commanded by his allies. On the other hand Gulab Singh was told by the British to collect all the forces at his disposal and dispatch the reinforcements to Kashmir to back the Dogra forces under Lakhpat Rai[42]. So Wazir Ranu was sent to Kashmir, at the head of a strong force.

The Sheikh's forces under Jan Mohammad Risaldar attacked the Dogras and a battle ensued in which blood-shed and slaughter followed[43]. The Dogra suffered a lot, Wazir Lakhpat Rai was killed and his able generals slaughtered, Wazir Ratnu fled and took refuge in the Koh-i-Maran (Hari Parbat Fort). The Kashmiris also suffered heavy losses[44].

On receiving the news of the defeat, Gulab Singh approached the English for help[45] and Lahore Durbar was asked by the British to asssit Gulab Singh with one half or two third of their forces at every station between the Ravi and Attock[46]. On the other hand the Muslims put their whole-hearted effort with Sheikh. The shawl bafs, artisans, gun-makers (Banduk-Khars) all supported the Sheikh[47]. The Sheikh deputed Saif-ullah Khan to Rajauri with 900 men and letters were sent throughout hills ordering the people to be ready for opposition to the Maharaja[48]. Rahimullah and Faiz Talib in Rajauri and Punch respectively were defeated by the Dogra[49]. Ten to twelve thousand Dogra troops were engaged in suppressing the resistance in Bhimber, Mirpur, Rajauri and Poonch. Faiz·Talib fled to Punjab and others surrendered[50]. One of the rebels, Atta Ullah revealed the British Officers[51]-Broome, Hay, Nicholson and Farguharson (who had been sent to Srinagar) that the people of Kashmir and the Hill

Chiefs were supporting the Sheikh for their hatred against Gulab Singh.

The British had deputed Lt. Herbert Edwards, Assistant Political Agent to stay with Gulab Singh for advice[52]. Henry Lawrence threatened the Sikhs to cancel the Treaty of Lahore if they failed to place a part of their forces at the disposal of Gulab Singh. The Sheikh's relatives who lived in Punjab, were interned by Henry Lawrence[53]. The Jagirs of the Sheikh at Doab, Jullender and Sheikhpora were confiscated[54]. The Lahore Durbar was excerting strongly to assist the Maharaja Gulab Singh. Strict orders were issued to all the chiefs and officers of Lahore to remain ready for the march to Kashmir at one days notice[55]. Though the Maharaja was eager to secure the British help, he was particular that the British force did not enter the valley. The Maharaja collected a huge army and stationed at various stages[56]. On 24th of September 1846, a letter was addressed by the British to Sikh officers in Kashmir warning them to keep aloof from the Sheikh[57]. Similarly Gulab Singh also sent a Tussali-name to the Sheikh for the safety of his life and property and the same was also promised by Lt. Edwards through the Sheikhs Vakil[58]. The British army, the Sikh forces and the Dogra soldiers were all kept under the command of Col. Lawrence who marched towards Kashmir through Rajouri. Mirza Faqir-Ullah, the chief of Rajauri; submitted[59]. Thus it broke the back of the Sheikh and he was further shocked by the arrival of British Vakils, Fateh-Ullah Khan and Hakim Rai, in Srinagar, so he ordered his soldiers to lay down their arms, and asked all the hilly chiefs to surrender.

Lt. Edwards was at Riasi, and Imam-ud-Din's Vakil Poorun Chand accompanied by the Sirdars, Fateh-Ullah Khan, Rattan Singh, Tej Singh and Gulab Singh[60] arrived. Poorun Chand explained the conduct of his master to Lt. Edwards and assured him that the Sheikh "had acted under orders from Lahore and could produce those orders in writing for his own justification"[61]. While the British forces moved into Jammu for Gulab Singh's

help, Poorun Chand was told that Sheikh should leave the valley within two days[62]. The British officers received many urzees from the hilly chiefs and other inhabitants of the valley to the effect that Kashmir should not be handed over to Gulab Singh which they construed was an act of oppression against them[63]. When the news of the mobilization of British forces reached Srinagar the Sheikh made preparations for leaving the valley and ordered all the rebellious chiefs to surrender. The Sheikh himself left the valley on 25th October via Shupiyan, reached Bairamgulla and on Ist November presented himself at Thanna before Lt. Colonel Lawrence. On the next day all the forces withdrew including the forces under Major General Sir John Littler and Brigadier wheeler[64]. Lal Singh was held responsible for every opposition by the Sheikh and suffered retribution for this by being exiled[65].

Gulab Singh entered Kashmir valley accompanied by H. M. Lawrence and reached Pampur wherefrom the Maharaja started alone on November 9th, 1846 at 8 am.[66], an hour declared suspicious to him. Thus Kashmir was conquered[67], Dogra rule established and the Raja of Jammu became the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State[68]. For Kashmiris it was nothing but "another tragic experience in a millennium of tragedies"[69] and Kashmiris became again the slaves under foreign rule, "its old ill-luck struck by it still, that hand had an itching palm, and they were again sold into the hands of the Philistines"[70].

References

1. Article III of the *Treaty of Amritsar*, Miskeen, Mohi-ud-din, *Tarikh-i-kabir, Kashmir*, F/108-b.

2. Punniah, K.V. *The constitutional Histroy of India*. (Allahabad, 1938), P. 288. The native state was to act in

subordinate position, acknowledge the British supremacy, not "to have any connection with other chiefs of the states", in case of any dispute with other native states, it was to be submitted to the British arbitration. Though this policy guaranteed the internal sovereignty of the ruler, but Britishers were the supreme. Thus the Treaty of Amritsar was no exception to the British policy of subordinate isolation.

3. The Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, wanted to satisfy the demands of the Director; the Sikh treasury was empty, so Governor-General had entered into secret agreement with Raja Gulab Singh and Kashmir alongwith its other provinces was sold to him for seventy five lakhs of rupees. See Rajab Ali Padri, *Riyasat Jammu wa Kashmir ke Taluqat Angrizi* Govt. Se. F/16-a.

4. *Life of Lord Hardinge,* P. 133 (oxford 1891), Panikkar. *The Founding of the Kashmir State.* pp. 106-107. Also see, R. Rankin, *A Tour Through the Himalayas,* June 5, 1898, pp. 185-186. Doughty, *A Foot Through the Valley,* P. 240.

5. *Lord Hardinge to Ellenborough,* Panikkar, *The Founding of Kashmir State,* pp. 100-103. Lord Hardinge writes: "Gulab Singh was never Minister of Lahore for the administration of its affairs. Early in 1845 Jawahir Singh persuaded the army to march against Jammu. Gulab Singh dispaining of being able to defend himself, threw himself into the hands of the Panchayats and was brought as a prisoner to Lahore. He was treated there with great severity: and subsequently, when the army offered him the wazirship, he repeatedly declined the offer. When the invasion took place he remained at Jammu and took no part against us, but tendered his allegiance on condition of being confirmed in the possession of his own territories...... It was evident that he had no cause for gratitude or attachment to the Lahore Durbar, by whose orders and intrigues his own family had nearly been exterminated, his possessions taken, and his sons slain. During the whole of the compaign he had purposely kept aloof, not a single hill soldier had fired a shot against us, so that the Government had every right to treat with him. They had their own interest, also, to

attend to which required that the Sikh State should be weakened and that the hills should be separated from the plains. ....His for bearances was rewarded because his forbearances was in accordance with an intended policy and because the charge of treachery could not be substantiated". *Life of Lord Hardinge.* P. 133. (Oxford 1891). See also Panikkar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State,* pp. 161-164 for letter from the Governor-General to the secret committee, dated 14th March, 1846.

6. *Lord Hardinge to his wife,* 2 March, 1840, *Punjab Papers,* op. cit. P. 104. Hardinge to Hobhous 21st January, 1847, *Punjab Papers,* op. cit. p. 117.

7. *Hardinge to Ellenborough* (Private), 19 March, 1846. *Punjab Papers,* op. cit. P. 93. "I wrote a long letter to Hogg in reply to a letter of his advocating annexation.... Explain (ing) the transaction of receiving Cashmere from the Darbar instead of one million sterling indemnity which they could not pay and transferring it to Gulab Singh who would pay Rs. 750,000".

8. *Lord Hardinge to Ellenborough,* 21 May, 1846, *Punjab papers.*

9. James P. Ferguson, *Kashmir—A Historical Introduction,* P. 56 writes that Gulab Singh remained loyal to the Sikhs and was rewarded loyally, "but even after Ranjit's death, when the Sikhs had been responsible for the murder of his brothers and had become hostile to himself, he still declared himself loyal to the Sikh Government and, as he might well have done, did not turn against it in its difficulties with the British. Indeed Sir Henry Lawrence who at a private interview reminded Gulab Singh of the unworthy treatment his family had received from the masters they had served so well, received the reply that his brothers were the subjects of the Lahore Government which had the right to treat them as it thought best." See Kripa Ram, Diwan, *Gulabnama,* P. 337.

10. Panikkar, *The Founding of Kashmir State,* P. 110. Kripa Ram, Diwan, *Gulabnama,* P. 337.

11. Kripa Ram, Dewan, *Gulabnama,* P. 341. See also Hashmatullah, *Tarikh-i-Jammu wa Kashmir,* P. 57. Panikkar, *The Founding of Kashmir State,* P. 98 has given the names of Rani's agents as "Dewan Dina Nath, Fakeer Anwaruddin, and Bhai Ram Singh". But instead of Fakeer Anwaruddin, it was Fakir Nur-ud-Din who was one among the three sent to Henry Lawrence. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama,* P. 341.

12. Panikkar, *The Founding of Kashmir,* pp. 108-109. The author accepts the fact and writes "It is undoubtedly true that he had been for years cultivating the friendship of the British Government. It is also equally true that when the war broke out between the company and Sikhs he did not hasten with his forces to the standard of his sovereign, but held back in Jammu...." Panikkar, P. 110. He further writes that it was Gulab Singh's greatness that he did not turn to complete hostility to Lahore Durbar but merely remained neutral in the war which speaks of his loyality to the memory of Ranjit Singh", Inspite of the deaths of his close relatives. But the fact remains that it was out of threat of being defeated by Sikhs that he did not turn hostile, which is clear, when he fought earlier against the Sikhs and was fined.

13. Cunnigham, J. D. *History of the Sikhs,* P. 288, writes "the custom of the East as well as the west requires the feudatory to aid his lord by foreign war and domestic strife. Gulab Singh ought thus to have paid the deficient million of money as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore provinces as an independent prince".

14. The sale of Kashmir has been described by the United Nations Mediator, Justice Dixon, as "a people of song and story", Saraf, M. Y., *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom,* P.191.

15. Bazaz, Prem Nath, *Struggle For Freedom in Kashmir,* P.183. Commenting on the Sale of Kashmir he writes "Two million of people in the valley and Gilgit were sold like sheep and cattle to an alien adventurer and the whole transaction was made behind the back".

16. W. Wakefield, *The Happy Valley*, P. 86. *Indian Public Opinion, Newspaper*, 1866-Brinckmen, *The wrongs of Kashmir* (Ed. Gudru, *Kashmir Papers*), P. 44, has the hope of recovering Kashmir from Gulab Singh "to whom we might return seventy-five lakhs for which we bargained away the welfare of hundreds of thousands of human beings, a sum too less that a year's income of that country—".

17. Fauq, Munshi Mohammad-ud-Din, *The Auction of Eleven Lakhs of Kashmiris* (An Article) writes that each Kashmiri was sold for rupees seven by the English to Gulab Singh and reproduces the verse of Iqbal that neither the seller nor the purchaser realized the fact:

دہقان وکشت وجوئے وخیابان فروختند   قومے فروختند وچہ ارزاں فروختند (اقبال)

Trans: Their fields, their crops, their streams,
Even the peasants in the vale,
They sold, they sold all, alas,
How cheap was the sale.

Dugsal, *Letters from India and Kashmir*, 1874, P. 163 comments on the same subject that ".... As Cashmere contained six hundred thousand inhabitants, they were estimated at twenty five shillings a head, the most extensive transaction in the slave trade of modern times".

18. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, Ed. Gudru, *Kashmir Papers*, P.84, points out that the sale of Kashmir was a "dark stain", upon the history of British rule in India, on the ground "that in no portion of the Treaty made with Gulab Singh was the slightest provision made for the just and humane government of the people of Cashmere and others, upon whom we forced a government which they detasted".

19. Ibid., P.87. The author while regretting the sale of Kashmir writes, P. 88, "that towards the people of Cashmere

who have committed a wanten outrage, a gross injustice and an act of tyrannical oppression, which violates every humane and honourable sentiment, which is opposed to the whole spirit of modern civilization, is in direct opposition to every tenent of the religion we profess".

20. Dugsal, *Letters from India and Kashmir*. P. 163., The sale of Kashmir was "one of those political mistakes that we make in a hurry to appease the demons of economy, the Exeter Hall, and repent at our leisure, or regret the fatality of the national tradition, that we threw away by diplomacy that we won by the sword".

21. The British, who had their cherished goal as amassing wealth and spreading their own religion-Christianity in the world from one end to another as confessed the *Mr. Mangles in the British parliament.* Robert, Thorp, op. cit. pp. 84-85, Also see Murray Aynsley, Mrs. J. C., *Our Visit to Hindustan, Kahsmir and Ladakh,* P. 92. comments on the important aspect of the sale that resulted in the deserted conditions of the villages and writes that "such is the lamentable result of our having handed over this splendid and fertile country to the tender mercies of a Hindu bigot, with officials of the same faith as himself, the inhabitants of the country being Mohammadan. History shows us, in the case or our own Queen Mary, and also in that of Philip of Spain with regard to the Netherlands, that no rule is so cruel as that of a bi-got over people of a faith differing from his own".

22. Roboert Thorp, op. cit. p. 85.

23. F. Markham, *Shooting in the Himalayas,* (1854), P.355. writes about the evils of the existing governments and holds the English responsible for the same".... We have much to answer for, in transferring the country to Gholab Singh, selling it and its people, for filthy lucre. The price he gave, was about twenty-six lacs, somewhere about what the annual revenue of Cashmir should be under a good government".

24. Calcutta Review, Punjab Report, 1859, Lieut Colonel Torrens, H. D., *Travels in Ladakh, Tartary and Kashmir*, (1862 London), pp.301-03. Writes that "No Englishman can leave kashmir without a sigh of regret that a province so full of promise should ever have been allowed through our fingers...., and we should have benefited by the acquisition as much as, I hope, the people would have been bettered by our rule." Lord Robert of Kandhar, *Forty-one years in India*, (1854) P. 210 writes while regretting the loss, ...what were we about, to sell such a country for three quarters of a million sterling? It would have made the most perfect sanatorium for our troops, and furnished an admirable field for British enterprise and colonization, its climate being as near perfection as anything can be". Dalhousie in his *Minute* P. 117, cited Bawa, Satinder Singh, *The Jammu Fox—A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh*, regretted that "..... in 1846, we unwillingly handed over kashmir to a chief who has proved himself veritable tyrant, and who already appears to be the founder of a race of tyrants".

25. The Governor General personally invested Gulab Singh with the title of "His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir" on 16th March, 1846 at Amritsar, after signing the Treaty.

26. Panikkar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, P. 105, writes ".... The cession of Kashmir was the price paid for Gulab Singh's efforts to bring about a speedy peace which, if he had thrown in his weight with the Lahore Durbar, would not have been an easy matter to achieve".

27. Cunningham, J. D., *History of the Sikhs*, P. 332, f. n. writes, that when the Treaty of Amritsar was signed "....Maharaja Gulab Singh stood up, & with joined hands, expressed his gratitude to the British Viceroy–adding, without, however, any ironical meaning, that he was indeed the *Zar-Kharid* (Gold-boughten slave)".

28. Panikkar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, P. 166

29. Suchet Singh had several wives but no legitimate son or daughter but his wives and nephews were deprived of his money-who had also a right to his property.

30. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol.I.

31. *Final Receipt for the Purchase of Kashmir*, Lahore, 29th March, 1850. Signed by the Board of Administration, see Sapru A. N., *The Building of the Jammu and Kashmir State*, Appendix No: IV.

32. Karim Nawaz, *Tarikh Aaina Dikhati Hai*, P. 38, PGR publications, Saraf M. Y., *Kahsmiris Fight for Freedom*, pp. 203, 204. The author writes about the nature of money paid by Gulab Singh for the sale of Kashmir "…. Among the amounts adjusted against the outstanding price, was a sum of rupees twenty-one thousand an seventeen, paisa twelve and pies five price of timber supplied by the Maharaja for the construction of a cantonment at Wazirabad and a sum of rupees eighteen hundred paid to a certain jugal Kishore, news writer, for the supply of 28 handkerchiefs… on 9th April, 1846, Lawrence protested in writing against delay in payment of the first installment, stating that British Government was in need of it. The first installment of rupees twenty one lacs was sent from Jammu to Jullundher on 18th April, 1846 under a military guard consisting of a platoon with 2 guns and commanded by Bijai Singh Kamiden. It was loaded on 45 carts, 20 camel, six box-carrying coolies and forty kahars. Five extra carts were also attached, yet, counted at the receiving end, it fell short by rupees nine thousand, one hundred and twenty eight. The explanation furnished for the short fall was that the sacks were old and that part of the journey had been performed by night: A perusal of the details shows that all types of currency was used in payment including the Muhammad Shahi (Mughal) ashrafis as well as coins from Oudh".

33. Vigne, G. T., *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 66-67.

34. Sapru, A. N. *The Building of Jammu and Kashmir States*, op. cit. P. 62.

35. *File No: 138-F of 1846* (Persian Records) Kashmir. Govt., Report.

36. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. II. pp. 778-779. Aakhun, Hamid-ullah Kashmiri, *Akbarnama*, F/11-14. The author calls the Sheikh to be the most liberal, just, clever and religious-minded person who tried his best to end the tyranny, helped the poor, repaired the mosques.

37. Panikkar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, P. 117 has quoted an article by a contemporary in the *Calcutta review*, July, 1847, describing Sheikh Imam-ud-Din in the following words. "The Sheikh is perhaps the best-mannered and the best dressed man in the Punjab. He is rather under than above the middle height, but his figure is exquisite, "as far as it goes", and is usually set off with the most unrivalled fit which the unrivalled tailors of Kashmir will achieve for the Governor of the province. His smile and bow are those of a perfect courtier whose taste is too good to be obsequious, his great natural intelligence and unusually good education has endowed him with considerable conversational powers".

38. *Auraq-i-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (Pol) (RPD) MS No. 1670. F/56, Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. II. P. 812.

39. Kripa Ram, Dewan, *Gulabnama*, P. 356.

40. Edward to Major Lawrence, June 29, 1846, Sapru, *The Building of J&K State*, pp. 44-45.

41. Naba Shah, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarik*, (PM), P.190, (RPD). MS No. 532 Lal Singh from Lahore Durbar had tutored the Sheikh not to hand over Kashmir to the Dogras, so he refused to leave. Nazim, Qazi Zahur-ul-Hasan, *Nigaristan-i-Kashmir*, P.253. But whether or not the Sheikh had got the information about the change of masters, he totally refused to acknowledge Gulab Singh as his master.

42. Ibid., Gulab Singh believed that the Sheikh had sent presents to Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General and it was stated in the Lahore *Akhbar* that the Sheikh offered thirty-five

lakhs to the British for Kashmir. Sapru, *The Building of J&k State*, P. 45.

43. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, P.356.

44. Ibid., Hasan, *Tarikh*, vol. II, P. 812. *Auaraq-i-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, op. cit. f/7-a.

45. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, op. cit. F/62-b.

46. Sapru, *The Building of J&K State*, P.51.

47. Fauq, Munshi Mohd Din, *Mukamal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*. Vol. III Sápru, *The Building of J&K State*, P. 50., describing the seize of Hari Parbat records "towards the entrance was Dewan Dutto Mull, to the south was Fukeeroolah, to the east Sirdar Soojan Singh with two Regiments and to the north colonel Busunt Singh. On the hill to the north was Maizooden Khan Sultan with some hill men. Futteh Singh and Goolzaree commandant were placed near the houses of the Hindus and Samud Khan and Mirza Murtaza were to the west".

48. Sapru, *The Building of J&K State*, P.50.

49. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, pp. 356-357.

50. Sapru, *The Building of J&K State*, P. 41

51. Ibid., P. 62

52. Fauq, Munshi Mohi-ud-Din, *Mukama-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, vol. III, P.86.

53. Naba Shah, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, P. 193.

54. Cunningham, J.D., *History of the Sikhs*, P. 384. The author has estimated the revenues from these Jagirs to be Rs. 24,500, 000/-

55. Sapru, *The Building of J&K State*, P.51.

56. Jawala Sahai, the Jammu Dewan brought five or six thousand men from Lahore and Sher Singh's forces sufficient to conduct the situation successfully. The Maharaja had 20,000 men, out of which 4,000 men were in Hari Parbat, and others at other stations. Sapru, *The Building of J&K State*, P.53.

57. From H. M., *Lawrence to the Sikh Officers and soldiers in Kashmir*, Sept., 24, 1846., Sapru, *The Building of J&K State*. P.54. It was written in the letter that it was the "practice of the English to warn and to give opportunity to escape before they slay.... I warn you that if on receipt of this order you separate from the Sheikh and return to the Punjab, your lives will be spared and your means will be paid".

58. Ibid.,

59. Fauq Munshi Mohi-ud-Din. *Mukamal Tawarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol., III, P. 87.

60. Sapru, *The Building of J&K State*, P. 54 son of Chater Singh Atari wala.

61. Ibid., Three original documents were placed by the Sheikh before Henry Lawrence at Thanna which showed Lal Singh's desire to oppose the Dogra forces in their bid to enter Kashmir. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, P. 359.

62. Ibid., pp. Lt. Edwards sent a *Purwana* to the Sheikh to the effect "that if within two days after the arrival of the vakil Poorun Chand, Sirdar Futheh-khan Towanah and others, you proceed to join me at once, and disperse those over whom you have any influence, your life shall be spared and orders be issued for the release of your family, who are now in confinement, on the day that you give yourself up".

63. Ibid., P. 62

64. Ibid., P. 68.

65. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, P. 359. it was placed on record on September 22, 1846 that Raja Lal Singh had "secretly ordered the Sheikh to excite disturbances in Cashmere whilst he (Lal Singh) in his public letters and assurances led the British Government to believe that he was doing his best to cause the Sheikh to withdraw". Sapru, *The Building of J&K State*, P.56.

66. Naba Shah, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, P. 194.

67. *Auraq-i-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, F/9-b, The author has given the date of conquering the Valley by Gulab Singh.

خار و خس جسم عدو در عرصہ تا در رفت
از بہر تاریخ چنین ہنگامہ دشمن شکن
روشنم گوشم ہاتفی "فتح در کشمیر" گفت

"The author has used "Fateh-dar-Kashmir" as the date of actual occupation of Kashmir with its ABJAD value to be 1262 H (1846 A. D.)

68. Sufi, *Kashir*, Vol.II. p. 67. The Maharaja designated "his state as the state of Jammu and Kashmir, so relegated Kashmir to a secondary and subordinate position even in name, on paper and in print".

69. Josef Korbal, *Danger in Kashmir*, P. 13.

70. Torrene, *Travels*, op. cit. P. 301. Walter Lawrence, *The India we served*, P. 64 when Gulab Singh entered the city, he had a naked sword in his hand and said, "This alone shall now decide the fate of Kashmir".

Consolidation of the Kingdom

The Raja of Jammu became the Maharaja of J&K State. The first task before the new Maharaja of the state was to put down the rebellions, establish law and order and consolidate his kingdom. He had to face various insurrections and campaigns from the hilly tribes and other countries. In 1847, A. D., the Zamindars and the Tribes of Hazara rose in rebellion against the Maharaja. They set up armed resistance. Diwan Hari Chand was already present there, but Diwan Jawala Sahai was sent to put down the rebellion. However, afterwards by an agreement between the Maharaja and the British, Hazara, Pakhli and Kabuta were exchanged by Maharaja for Kathua and Suchetgarh fort of Manawar, which were given as Jagir to Captain James Abbot for his services in fixing the boundary lines. Later on Bhaderwah was also transferred to the Maharaja.

The Conquest of Chilas Fort

In 1851 the frontier rose in rebellion and the chilasis began to plunder the possessions of the Maharaja at Hazara. In the spring of 1852 Maharaja sent a strong force under Dewan Hari chand, Wazir Zorawar Singh, Colonel Bijai Singh, Colonel Jawahar, Lochen Singh and Dewan Thakur Singh. The Prince, Ranbir Singh, himself stayed at Sopore to conduct the affairs and the villagers were captured for Begar to carry the supplies. The chilasis fought bravely, men fought during night and woman in daytime. More than 1,500 men died within one week. Colonel Bajai Singh got wounded. The soldiers were forced to eat the leaves of the trees for bread.

The chilas fort was situated on a high hill and its water supply depended on one well. The Dogras bored a big hole into the well and the waters got drained from the well. So the chilasis were deprived of the water, but they drank oil and continued the battle for three days. Finally, the chilasis surrendered and their leaders were brought to Srinagar. The fort was razed to the ground and the Maharaja's authority was accepted and the leaders left their sons as hostages, but still chilas remained always a source of trouble for the Maharaja because of its timely rebellions.

Gilgit Insurrections

Upto 1842 neither Astor nor Gilgit had been annexed by the Sikhs. At that time Yasin invaded the rulers of Gilgit and the latter appealed to the Sikhs for help. A regiment was sent by the Sikhs under Nathu Shah who occupied Gilgit and married the daughter of the Raja of Yasin Hunsa and Nagyr. In 1846 Gilgit was ceded to Gulab Singh and Nathu Shah left the Sikhs to render his services to the new ruler, Gulab Singh, who went personally to take its possession and was successful. The visit of British Commission comprising of two English engineers of Bengal Heut. Vans Agnew and Young were sent for the purpose of ascertaining the limits of Gulab Singh's possessions in the context of the Treaty of Amritsar. The Hunza Raja launched an attack on the Gilgit territory and plundered five villages. He justified his action of breaking peace with Nathu shah by saying that the latter had brought the English to see the country. Nathu Shah led a force to Hunza river to avenge the attack but his forces were destroyed and he was killed. The titular ruler of Gilgit Karim Khan, who had accompanied him also lost his life. Bakhshi Hari Singh was sent at the head of Ram-gol Platon who punished the rebels and subjugated Gilgit, Gohar Rahman apologized through his agent, so he was restored.

In 1852 Gohar Rahman rebelled once again. Santosh Singh was the Thanadar of Gilgit fort. The next fort was defended by the Devi-Din Kumedan, the commander and by the Gurkha regiment. Bhup Singh was in command of the reserves at Bawanji and Astor. Gohar Rahman suddenly brought a force around and separated the two forts. The Gurkha regiment fought bravely but Bhup Singh was killed. Gohar Rahman brought Gilgit under his own control and many of his adversaries were dealt with sternly by him. Thus Dogras were ousted from Gilgit. and it was not until 1856 that Gilgit was recovered by the Dogras and kept under Gohar Rahman's step brother, the Thanadar. But in 1857 Gohar Rahman again captured it. In 1857, Ranbir Singh succeeded his father and he resolved to recover Gilgit. First he employed all his resources in the operations against the mutineers. (Rising of 1857) until 1860 he could not concentrate on the Gilgit frontier. In 1860 Gohar Rahman died and it has not untill 1866 Ranbir Singh was successful in completing the conquest of Gilgit.

No doubt so many vain attempts were made by the Maharaja to get Gilgit earlier, but that caused suffering only to the peasants of the valley, who were taken over and again as begars for the purpose of carrying supplies. In 1880 three thousand soldiers were sent to Gilgit to put down the revolt of the natives demanding their rights.

The relatives of Maharaja of the state and British government remained cordial but of suspicious and doubt on each other. In the Afghan war of 1878-80 the Maharaja had sent a contingent of troops and artillery to assist the British Government. Though the Treaty of Amritsar did not make any provision with regard to the appointment of the British Resident in Kashmir. Yet a British Officer on special Duty was appointed for Kashmir in 1877. He was, under the direct control of the

Government of India while upto that time the political affairs of Kashmir were conducted through the Punjab Government.

The Dogra rulers had to pay nazrana annually to the British Government. The nazrana consisted of one horse, twelve perfect shawl-goats of approved breed, six male and six female, and a pair of Kashmiri do-shalas. However, this article was modified in 1882 when the British Government asked the Maharaja to give Pasham as a substitute for twelve shawl goats, and the Maharaja accepted.

Thus, politically, the Maharaja's state constituted four provisions—Ladakh in the East, Gilgit and Baltistan in the North, Kashmir in the west, and Jammu in the South. As the Raja of Jammu, Gulab Singh had been the Hill Chief of Jammu and held Ladakh and Baltistan by right of conquest and Gilgit had become an appendage of Sikh governorship of Kashmir. Kashmir was then handed over to him by the Treaty of Amritsar and Gulab Singh was confirmed to what he already possessed.

References

1. Hazara territory lies at the foot of he Himalayas in the North-west of the Punjab and included the territories of Mansehra and Haripur and Upper Tanawal. It was transferred to Gulab Singh by the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846.
2. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama,* P.360.
3. Ibid., pp. 361-362.
4. Panikkar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State,* P.124.
5. Chilas is a small division of Dardistan and the chilasis are called by other Dards "Bhute". F. Drew, *The Jammu and*

Kashmir Territories, pp. 456-559. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, op. cit., F/64-a.

6. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, P. 397.

7. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. vol. II, P. 836.

8. Kripa Ram, *Gulanama*, P. 398.

9. Panikkar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, P. 143.

10. Kripa Ram, *Gulanama*. P.399.

11. Hargopal Khaste, *Guldasta-i-Kashmir*, P. 188.

12. Kripa Ram, *Gulanama*, P. 399.

13. Panikkar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State*. P. 144.

14. Mirjanpur, Khalil, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, F/308 (PMS) (RPD)

15. Gilgit was a barren country, with lofty precipitous mountains, narrow rocky gorges swift glacier-borne torrents, and only narrow strips of cultivation around stone-built villages. It was, nevertheless, of no small political and strategic importance.

16. Drew Federic, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 439-40.

17. Khan, Hashmat-ullah, *Tarikh-i-Jammu-wa-kishtiwar*, pp. 783-84. Panikkar, K.M. *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, P. 112.

18. Kripa Ram, *Gulanama*, P. 403. Some sources have referred him as Gohar Aman, while the author of *Gulabnama* has written his name as Gohar Rehman.

19. Ibid.,

20. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, op. cit. F/64-b

21. Kripa Ram, *Gulanama*, P. 402 Drew gives Sant Singh as the name of Thanadar, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, P. 440. Also Hasan, *Tarikh*, II, op. cit. P.836.

22. Kripa Ram, *Gulanama*, P.402, Drew The Jammu and Kashmir Territories, P. 440 gives "Ram Din" as the name of Commander.

23. Kripa Ram, *Gulanama*, P. 403. Hasan, *Tarikh*, II, op. cit., P. 836.

24. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 115.

25. Drew, F. *The Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, P. 444. Gulab Singh helped the British during the Mutiny of 1857 with the dispatch of two regiments commanded by Dharam Singh, one cavalry regiment and one of gun carriages. Mirza Saif-ud-Din, *Rozmamcha*, vol. x, F/124 dated 23 May, 1857. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, op. cit. F/68-a. Drew, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 446-447

26. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. vol. II, pp. 838 & 860.

27. Article 10 of the *Treaty of Amritsar*, 16th March, 1846.

28. *F/3/1883-Letter No: 417*, dated 28th September, 1883. *From officer on special Duty to the Diwan*, which stated that five seers of *Pasham* which came to Kashmir from Ladakh and *black-pasham* of superior variety, five seers, four seers of middle variety and *Bihusili* of different (low) varieties seven seers, were decided to be given to the English instead of shawl goats.

ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY (STRUCTURE)

THE MAHARAJA

The establishment of the State of Jammu & Kashmir in 1846 A.D. saw the emergence of absolute rule of the Dogra Maharaja and the absolute monarchy [1] continued to be the order of the day during our period of study. People considered the Maharaja as their master and lord; they hailed the rule of one man and felt disgusted when the power was shared by many [2]. But the Maharaja could not govern a large state all by himself. Obviously, he had to devise a dependable mechanism to run the administration and keep the things in order. The people related to the Maharaja by blood or his kinsmen constituted the top of the ladder which came into being to share power of the state and fulfil the obligations towards the Maharaja for which they were granted jobs, lands, titles and rewards. Down the ladder were other tiers, each constituting one or other part of this mechanism. Thus the primary administrative functionary among the Dogras was the Maharaja and as such first in the line falls the name of Maharaja Gulab Singh who had a distinguished appearance [3]. He was fond of horses, a good soldier "thoroughly brave, but always careful and prudent"[4]. Many a times Gulab Singh followed the policy of intrigues in order to satisfy his desires [5], and on many occasions turned to treachery and lying [6].

Gulab Singh ruled his territories with a strong hand and used force; to him the concept of a good government was that "in which the authority of the ruler was assured by force and the revenue came punctually" [7]. He had the sense of governing the country in such a way where his authority was to be respected by all. He was unscrupulous in attaining his motives and also exercised the cruelty [8], and followed the policy of tyranny while

administering the country [9]. Maharaja Gulab Singh "brought the principle of personal rule to perfection, he claimed to have every right on his people and their labour [10].

Maharaja Gulab Singh had an immense greed for wealth and he had a vast field wherefrom to derive the profits[11]. He enriched himself year by year, tried to get more and more money from Kashmir [12]. In the extortion of money Gulab Singh used a hundred arts and opened new doors of tyranny [13], he never looked beyond his "money bags" [14], his attention was caught by his subjects within no time if the latter showed only a rupee to the Maharaja for getting his petition to be heared by him [15]. Gulab Singh had himself admitted in the open court that his attraction to Kashmir was only due to its wealth [16].

Gulab Singh's way of justice was quite strange which is clear from the fact that in 1856 he ordered the Adalatis (justices) of the court to erect a large weighing scale in the compound of the court. Every complainant and the defendant should first be weighed on the scales. He who weighed more should be declared a lier [17]. The punishments like torture, burying one alive in hay, drowning, breaking ones bones and death sentence was a common practice [18]. The British Government felt compelled to interfere in the affairs of Kashmir. Henry Lawrence dispatched to Srinagar a mission under Liutenent Reynell Taylor from 14th to the 20th June, 1847, in order to recommend some important reforms for Kashmir administration after consulting the people as well as the government [19]. But Gulab Singh very skillfully gave a warm welcome to the mission but blocked it from completing its work[20].

No doubt, Taylor's mission failed but Henry Lawrence was always interested in the reforms and so long as he remained in the north-west he insisted on the Maharaja to introduce the reforms, the latter always put the blame of bad and tyrannical government on his officials and avoided the future reforms [21]. He had no inclination to introduce the reforms and to start the work of reconstruction, he looked at his new purchase as a financial investment [22] but practiced religious toleration in his domain.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh [23] took part in the political affairs with his father Maharaja Gulab Singh and carried on the affairs of the Ramnagar district with great care [24]. Whenever his father Maharaja Gulab Singh remained away from Kashmir or Jammu the business of the Government was carried out by Mian Ranbir Singh [25]. In 1856 the health of Maharaja Gulab Singh began to fail so he decided to entrust the affairs of the administration to his son Ranbir Singh. Thus it was in February 1856 A. D. that Ranbir Singh was installed on the gadi [26] and Gulab Singh himself remained as the Governor of Kashmir where he died in June, 1857 at the age of sixty-five [27].

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was kind and simpler than his predecessor [28]. As soon as he took the reins of government into his hands, Ranbir Singh made efforts to reorganize his army [29]. He introduced a number of measures to enhance the process of education in the State [30]. The valley was divided into wazarats for purposes of effective administrations (district) Srinagar, Anantnag, Shopian, Pattan, Kamraj and Muzaffarabad. Stamp duty and registration fees were also introduced [31].

It was during the reign of Ranbir Singh that the construction of Cart Road was started between Srinagar and Jammu. He also built a track between Jammu and Kashmir. A telegraph system was introduced, he made his best efforts to improve the sericulture and silkworm seeds from China were distributed among the villagers [32].

Maharaja Ranbir Singh set up a Dharmarth Trust and Ain-i-Dharmarth was drafted in Persian [33]. He built a large number of temples in the valley [34]. He was of orthodox views and believed in superstition as he forbade the Kashmiris to eat fish on the death of his father [35]. He showed the signs of a good soldier as he reoccupied Gilgit and subdued Yasir in 1863. In 1865 he annexed Darel Valley (South-west of Gilgit). He remained well aware about the activities of his people through the agency called Khufya-navis [36]. In 1870, Ranbir Singh signed a Treaty with the Britishers aiming at extension of trade links with central Asia.

No doubt, in many respects the Maharaja was an enlightened ruler but he had unfortunately, no capable officials who could join hands with him in removing the defects of the government [37]. They were the worshippers of "ignorance and destructive age"[38]. Younghusband, the British Resident in Kashmir, says "In the early sixties cultivation was decreasing, the people were wretchedly poor, and in any other country their state would have been almost one of starvation and famine[40]....." The people were taught that they were "Serfs" without any rights but with many disabilities.

The palace of Maharaja was situated on the left bank of the river Jhelum at Sherghari. The temple of Shri Gadadhar Ji almost joined it [41]. On the same side and above the limits of the city proper, was a baradurrie-a large summer palace in which dinners or entertainments were given [42].

Maharaja Ranbir Singh used to hold his Durbars on Akbar's model where men of learning gathered together for discussions on religious and social matters.There used to be from fifty to hundred courtiers who sat at the distances according to their degree [43], the holding of Durbar was the every-day custom of the court., in winter at Jammu and in summer at Srinagar.

Besides, special Durbars were held occasionally, especially on Besant Panchmi, Nauroz, Sair and Dussehra [44]. The festival of Basant Panchmi was held in honour of the coming of spring.

OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONARIES

During the period under review there was a large number of persons who were in one way or the other involved in government. They ranked from governors to the petty officials of the state. There were a large number of such privileged officials who were the worshippers of a "bygone" ignorant and destructive age"[45]. They were the "worst tyrants"[46] to their own people and often indulged in fraudulent practices[47]. The "Hindu officials had here (in Kashmir) tyrannized over the cultivators and had driven them to despair, to sell their lands to their oppressors for very nominal sum" [48]. These unscruplous and

corrupt officials lived free on the villagers and workers on whom they levied exactions in the form of a systematic toll [49]. They fleeced the people and received Nazranas from their own personal gains [50]. Some of these officials were wealthy landowners, contractors and bankers [51].

The Dogra Kingdom was divided into several provinces, as Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, each of them were administrated by a Governor in the name of Maharaja. Every province was in turn divided into several parganas (districts). The top officials in each pargana were the Ziladar (district officer), the Thanadar (the Police officer), and the Qanungo (Revenue officer) [52]. These officers were responsible for maintaining peace and collecting revenues in the area under their jurisdiction.

The Maharaja was eager to curb the Kashmiri preponderance in the important departments of revenue which is evident from the instructions he issued to Devi Datta, on the assumption of his new duties, that he should collect revenue from every side and root out Kashmiri influence from every quarter and the same advice was tendered to the lesser officials [53]. The appointment of Devi Datta created a bitter feeling among the Kashmiris and seven to eight hundred of the farmers protested and presented themselves before the Maharaja to express, their unhappiness. But Gulab Singh dismissed their complaints by accusing them of harbouring anti-Jammu prejudices [54]. Most of the higher officials came from out-side and were foreigners who formed the privileged class.

GOVERNOR—AFSAR-I-ALA

When Gulab Singh got the power in 1846 A.D., he stayed in Kashmir for some time and in 1905 B (1849 A.D.) left Raj Kak Dhar incharge of Kashmir and himself went to Jammu [55]. This practice always continued; whenever the Dogra Maharajas remained outside Kashmir, the administration was mainly conducted by the Governors. Raj kak Dhar remained in office for six months and everyone, high and low, was happy with his work. No doubt, he wanted betterment of the people and

suggested to the Maharaja to treat his subjects sympathetically. He was removed from office with a heavy fine by Gulab Singh[56].

Among the principal officers of Gulab Singh were Diwan Jawala Sahai of Aminabad [57] (West Punjab), who was mainly responsible for negotiations in connection with the transfer of Kashmir. Diwan Hari Chand was employed in military expeditions [58]. Wazir Zorawar Singh [59] was the military commander, Colonel Basti Ram [60] was one of Zorawar's important lieutenants in military operations. Wazir Lakhpat [61] of Kishtwar was dispatched to take possession of Kashmir. Sayyid Mathu Shah [62] of Gujranwala served Gulab Singh, and lost his life in supressing a rebellion on the Gilgit frontier.

During the reign of Gulab Singh 1846-1857 A.D. three Governors or Nazims, Pandit Raj Kak Dhar, Mian Hethu, and Ranbir Singh, one after the other, were appointed in Kashmir. Maharaja Ranbir Singh appointed Wazir Punnu 1857-1866 A.D. to administer the Kashmir province who started reign of terror in the valley. In April 1860 A.D. Wazir Punnu went on leave and Col. Bijai Singh, the Commandant, was given the charge of Hakim-i-Ala (Governorship) of Kashmir. The latter tried to improve the conditions of the people but Punnu remained as Governor till 1865 [63].

Diwan Kripa Ram, (1865-66) was appointed as the Governor of Kashmir and in that capacity he served for one and a half year[64]. The Diwan carried out some reforms in the revenue and administrative field to fight out the menace of recurring famines. In the same year misinformed by Pandit Raj Kak Dhar, Darog-i-shawlbafan, the Diwan Kripa Ram used military force to intimidate a crowd of shawl-weavers at Zaldagar, Srinagar. Many of them were drowned in the river Kutikul (nearby river)[65]. Richard Temple who met him in 1871 writes that he "was a man of considerable intelligence, and ambitious of earning a good administrative repute for his master's government".

During the Governorship of Diwan Thakur Dass (1866-1870) a severe cholera broke out and near about eight thousand

people died in this calamity [66]. After ten years the fishermen were asked to catch fish in the Valley and it was declared to be legal. In 1870 the Maharaja appointed Wazir Punnu as the Governor of Kashmir (1870-77). Wazir Punnu established a market at the land of the successors of Khaja Hassan Bandi at Srinagar, named it as Maharaj Gunj Bazar [67].

The main events of the Wazir Punnu's governorship were the outbreak of Cholera in 1872 and 1875 A.D. and Shia Suni conflict in the 1872 A.D. Prof. J. George Buhler came to Kashmir and purchased some Sanskrit and Persian books [68]. In 1877 A.D. the signs of the life-taking catestrophy-famine appeared but Wazir Punnu continued with his tyrannical policy and imposed atrocities on the people of valley espacially the villagers were dealt with in such inhumane and unjust manner as was unimaginable, unspeakable and inexpressible.

Diwan Anant Ram, son of Kripa Ram was given the governorship for some time in 1878 but meanwhile Diwan Badri Nath was appointed in his place. The conditions of the people were deplorable, some of the people flew away and others demolished their houses and sold the material (timber) to get their living [70].

In 1882, the meet of a six member council, with the members Suraj Bal, Hira-Anand, Akbar Beigh, Mirza Mohy-ud-Din, Zana Kak Dhar, Khawaja Sonaullah Shawl and Diwan Badri Nath the President was called. The purpose of the conference was to improve the administrative and revenue conditions of Kashmir.

Diwan Lachhaman Das (1884-85), was the humane and just governor. He tried to deal corrupt officials sternly. During his tenure earthquake of 1885 A.D. continued for forty-one days.

ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

The state had a feudal structure where the Dogra Maharaja was the Chief feudal Lord at the top of various small feudal chieftains. The land was granted by the Maharaja to his relatives, members of royal family and to those whom he liked [72]. The

village aristocracy comprised the Hindu landowners [73] and the Muslim peasants were "the toiling sons of the soil" [74], who "had to pay such high taxes that economic crisis bordering on starvation became more or less a regular affair" [75]. Most of the peasants were landless "labourers working as serfs of the absentee landlords" [76].

The system of land revenue gave rise, on the one hand to landlordism and on the other to a mass of landless peasantry. The peasants, after paying the revenue were left with little and when they failed in one tehsil to satisfy their needs they took themselves to another and the process of roaming continued which resulted in the "unsatisfactory condition of agriculture".[77] They tried to seek the protection under the influential persons who came to constitute a link between the cultivator and the state[78]. They became landlords and rented the land to the peasants on "medieval conditions of exploitation" [79]. The land even of those emigrants who came back [80] to the valley were conferred, on the privileged [81] people, Maharaja Ranbir Singh bestowed big Jagirs on Mian Rajputs, with the purpose to "have certain body of his own people ready to support him in the event of any disturbances in the Valley" [82]. This privileged class was exempted from all the taxes and duties [83].

Another group of people included in this privileged class were Nakshbandi Khawajas who held large chunks of land on Zar-i-Niaz grants which were made to them in the past and which they retained even during the period under study [84]. These privileged jagirdars claimed that the peasants lived a happy life under the state [85]. They held the Jagirs on hereditary basis [86], though they could retain such lands till the Maharaja's pleasure. Gulab Singh relaxed and released Jagirs and Dharmarth lands [87], but dealt with those people sternly who asked for the release of their Jagirs, which had been granted to them by the ex-rulers [88]. Numbering 3, 115 [89] Jagirs under Dharmath, in addition to other kinds of land grants. Maharaja Gulab Singh made a general resumption of these Jagirs, muafi grants (revenue free lands) and Dharmarth grants made by Sheikh Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, and

his son Sheikh Imam-ud-Din as governors of Kashmir under the Sikh rule. However, on the repeated objections of Lahore Durbar and the British Government, Gulab Singh released those Jagirs, which had been granted by Ranjit Singh and Sher Singh. He placed an enquiry of "Quo warranto" (a legal proceeding) on the existing Jagirs [90]. All this resulted in the resentment of various Jagirdar against the Maharaja.

Gulab Singh divided the entire valley for revenue purposes into four or five Jagirs, the most of the Jagirdars were non-Kashmiris and usually the Punjabis, who had under them a host of higher and minor officials for collecting revenue. These agents of the state gained inspite of the loss to both the state and the cultivator [91]. These Jagirdars were paid by the peasants partly in cash and partly in kind [92]. They had to contribute towards the military campaigns a supply of a certain quota of "corvee" labourers and form a regiment of soldiers. These Jagirdars in general remained in arrears to the state. Thus a Jagirdar was in actual practice the master, "the Judge, the administrator and the police" within his estate while the peasant was his "purchased slave" [93]. There was no constitution of Jagirs to define their rights and privilèges. A code for the purpose came into existence only after 1927 [94].

Thus this privileged class was created by the successive foreign regimes for their own benefits. It was either for subjugating or exploiting the masses [95], that these regimes conferred large tracts of land on this class. This system had "its immediate origin in practices inherited from the most decadent and chaotic period of rule, and changes in it were made slowly and not without mistakes, by men who were mostly aliens to the country and could hardly assimilate the requirements or enter into the feelings of the people" [96].

Chakdars

Next to the Jagirdars were the Chakdars. It was in 1863 that the fallow land was granted in allotments called "Chaks" or 'Zarniaz' Chaks for ten years. These were given to influential

persons who employed "people not already cultivators or by attracting cultivators from Punjab" [97]. These Chakdars held landed property, though temporarily, under the deeds granted by the State. They had to pay the state share on easy terms. But themselves they were entitled to half the produce of the chak. They treated the cultivators in their chaks with great severity as serfs. These cultivators had also to render other services to chakdars [98]. There were other kinds of chaks also. It was in 1867-68 that the Maharaja gave his consent to the allotment of chak-I-Hanudi in favour of Hindus, which they could keep so long as they remained Hindus or in the state services and brought waste-land under cultivation. From 1880 Ishtihari Chaks were granted on easier terms. In the same year Halkari Chaks were granted and land was granted in lieu of wages and on lump-sum basis. When all these chaks were granted the grantee first of all ousted all the old cultivators so that he could destroy any proof of the land ever having been under cultivation before he entered it [99]. They laid their hands on any land, which was in their neighbourhood [100].

Mukararidars and Muafidars

The mukararies [101] received cash payments from the state under various religious and non-religious titles. They enjoyed all the feudal concessions conferred on them by the Mughals, Pathans, Sikhs and also by the Dogras. They acquired the land on deeds granted by the state [102]. There were 2,347 Mukararies in the state who were drawing 1,77,921 rupees a year. The Muafidars were the individuals as Pandits, Faqirs and institutions like mosques and temples, and were in receipt of a part of the revenue. There were 395 Jagirdars and muafidars collecting 5,56,313 rupees annually. These muafidars resorted to exploitation under the shield of religion [103].

Thus, this element of privileged class compelled the people to suffer miserably and this system was "generally feudal marked by the problem of transaction into a weak type of

capitalism". It degraded the "country into a mire of poverty and lowness and was leaching the vitality of the peasants" [104].

Judicial Officers

The Officers connected with the courts of law also came from outside and belonged to the privileged class. Most of these officers collected and amassed money and were transferred from their offices very frequently. Soon after taking the reins of government into his hands, Gulab Singh appointed Moulvi Mazhar Ali, from Delhi, as Chief Justice and Moulvi Nasir-ud-Din was appointed as Magistrate [105]. In 1849 A.D. Moulvi Mazhar Ali went on leave, Moulvi Nasir-ud-Din was terminated, in their place Moulvi Farkhand Ali and Mir Aziz Ullah were appointed Migistrate and Chief-Justice respectively [106]. The position of the Judiciary civil, criminal and religious deteriorated. In 1847 A.D. Rasum-i-Nikah was fixed as one rupee and Rasum-i-Kabala (for purchasing and selling) was fixed at six rupees and four annas. In 1850 A.D. the officials did not attend the court due to winter was severe. Consequently, there was no income on account of Rasum-i-Nikah nor were any mortgage deeds relating to Srinagar signed. At the sametime whatever was collected was not deposited in the treasury [107]. The frequent appointments and dismissals of the Chief Magistrates affected the dealing of justice. The system of stamp paper was introduced and Qazis of city had to accept the Nikha-nama (paper of Nikah) only when it was executed in the prescribed stamp paper.

The menial acts were legalized by the officers of the court. Justice was being bought and sold. The seat of the court was established at Basant Bagh [108]. In 1853 A.D. law was promulgated that in all the civil suits the litigant had to deposit fees at the rate of five percent of the amount before the case was decided [109]. The system of Panchayat was also prevalent [110]. In 1876 A.D. Ganesh Pandit was given the contract of stamps.

There was no certainty of tenure in the judicial service, the officers incharge of justice were accustomed to frequent transfers

and terminations so the main aim during their service tenure was to amass as much money as they could at the cost of the state and the people. They had the privilege to exploit the people, to harass them and to secure benefits for themselves. They were mostly the foreigners, either from Punjab, Delhi or Jammu.

Minor Privileged Officers

Right from the commencement of the Dogra rule in Kashmir, the Maharaja, as a matter of practice, left the valley at the end of every summer for his winter capital at Jammu. The structure of administration under Maharaja Gulab Singh remained as he found it. Infact in ancient times the province of North Kashmir was divided into two divisions (Kamaraj north and Maraj south of Kashmir) which were again divided into perganahs. During the period under study the valley was divided into six wazarats or districts [112], which were split up into tehsils. under (Tehsildars) and Naib Tehsildars [113].

Tehsildars

The Tehsildar was vested with a "good deal of civic responsibility" [114]. He had the civil and criminal jurisdiction over the tehsil [115], and had the power to punish upto a fortnight's imprisonment and impose a fine of ten rupees. All kinds of complaints and disputes which occurred in his tehsil were referred to him [116]. Some Tehsildars without criminal powers enriched themselves by charging false fines from the people without registering their cases. [117]. These officers awarded severe punishments to the people for minor offences using nettle scourages in summer and plunging them in cold water during the winter [118]. They enjoyed unequalled opportunities for enriching themselves at the expense of state and the people [119]. The Tehsildar had under him 200 to 400 sepoys for the collection of revenue [120], who lived freely on the forced hospitality of the villagers [121]. These tehsildars received a small pay of thirty rupees a month but their life style required an income of rupees 300 to 500 per mensum, which they earned by all foul means [122]. The Tehsildar had always around him in the tehsil a number of

relatives and friends called mutabir (social gathering)[123], who received no pay from the state but squeezed money out of the villagers. The post of Tehsildar was not hereditary [124] and he received no pension in his old age [125]. They were usually corrupt, lazy, disloyal and illetrate [126], enjoyed very little dignity or respect [127], usually remained absent from duties. Maharaja Ranbir Singh ordered in 1861 that a strict watch might be kept on Tehsildars and if found absent from their duties, action might be taken against them [128]. On the whole, Tehsildar was a "bird of passage, and he lived in a state of constant terror, caused partly by the rough way in which he was treated by his superiors and partly by the knowledge that he was assailed on all sides by charges, some true and some false"[129].

Thanadar

He was the chief officer in each parganah having 40 to 50 sepoys under him [130]. He was called the "guardian of peace" and administrated justice without his jurisdiction [131]. He served as an agent to collect begaris and coolies [132], and his chief duty was to make inspections throughout his parganah, to make reports concerning the crops and general matters to his Tehsildar [133]. He acted as a "medium between sarkar (government) and Reyaya (people) to supply grain, wood and other necessaries or the state services [134]. The Thanadar harassed the people who tried to leave the valley due to oppression excercised on them by officials of the state [135], and also compelled many people of other professions to take agriculture as a means of their livelihood [136].

Kardar

The ancient thirty-six pergannahs of the valley induced Gulab Singh to appoint in each pergannah a Kardar for purpose of revenue collection [137]. Since there was no settlement department during the period under study, it was the first duty of Kardar who acted as revenue collector, "to assess the standing crops" [138], and then to get the largest possible quantity of grains to the state. He had under him a certain number of villages. Kardar divided his entire charge into three belts [139]. Thus he was

the chief and the absolute authority in charge of collection of revenue and the cultivation of land. He was usually, an illiterate cheated both the peasant and the state [140] whom he baulked with "Zabani Jama-o-Kharch" and made the state to believe that "he was doing his best to fill its coffers and also creating a "Zakhira" to depend on in times of need or dearth [141]. He served also as the lowest court within his jurisdiction [142].

The Government was harsh on these Kardars, who were charged with a levy Rasum-i-Deohri for the maintenance of the palace, at varied rates of two to three hundred rupees [143]. These kardars in turn exacted it from the peasants both in cash and kind [144]. These officials were being punished severely by the government if they happened to be its "baqidar" [145]. The salary for kardars and their subordinates was fixed as twenty-seven kharwars per thousand kharwars and on every thousand kharwars (cash) Rs. Thirty-Seven [146]. The property of the Kardars was confiscated by the state on their death [147], at the same time titles (khilats) were bestowed on them by the government on several occasions for their performance [148]. The Kardar had the privilege to live a luxurious life and to oppress the people [149].

Patwari

Patwari was an important official in the revenue administration of the Valley of Kashmir [150]. There was one Patwari for each village and his main duty was "to keep a separate account of each house of zamindars of his village of the different crops belonging to it" [151]. The patwari used to keep three editions of the statement regarding the holdings of the peasants, true one for himself and the other two each for the Tehsildar and for the peasant [152] to convince them of the excellent bargain he had secured. The patwari turned to frauds while preparing the reports of the peasant's holdings because the land was not ascertained by measurement, but was calculated by the amount of seeds required for each field, as such the villagers cultivated their land with much less seeds than shown in the paper [153]. The government asked these patwaris to keep the

registers of revenue accounts for ensuring the payment of revenue [154]. In 1852 A.D. they were asked to keep Assamiwar pocket books of cultivators, but they failed to do so and Mian Ranbir Singh punished them severely [155]. They got their salaries from the peasants [156].

Lambardars

Every village had its Lambardar who was an official for the collection of revenue [157] in the village under his charge. He had also to provide the travelers with coolies and other necessaries; usually he was found to be corrupt in performing these duties [158]. The lambardar got two percent of the revenue as the reward for its collection [159]. The prosperity of the village depended on Lambardar; if he happened to be a strong person he tried to bribe his higher officials then he with his village was left free, the village would flourish, yet would remain in arrears but under the weak lambardar "payments will be heavier, arrears fewer, and assamis will groan beneath extortionate demands"[160], and himself appeared dirty and not better than the village "scape goat" running away from the village. But there were the instances when these Lambardars snatched from the peasants whatever they could lay their hands on [162].

Shaqdar

In a village there were one to four Shaqdars for watching the crops when standing on the ground and when share of the crops was set aside till removed to the city [163]. They received no pay from the state but were paid rassad (daily means of subsistence including fuel) by the villagers [164]. They transgressed their powers and duties and received bribes from the villagers [165]. In 1856 A.D. Gulab Singh showed his willingness to appoint the Pandits numbering nearly three hundred for revenue purposes as the Shaqdars in Jammu province [166].

Sazawal

Sazawal was the official who supervised the work of shaqdar. There was usually one sazawal for about every ten

villages [167]. His main duty was to inspect the work of shaqdar and to report to the kardar. He extorted money from the shaqdar.

Mukadam

Mukadam was the village headman and acted as a middleman between the peasant and the state [169]. He was making two visits in a year around the village in his charge, once in spring and the other at the ripening time, autumn [170]. His duty was to report cases of theft or irregularities to the higher authorities, he had also to mobilize coolies for the government and other travelers. Moreover, he kept the account of crops of the village alongwith the patwari [171]. He also used to distribute seeds among the peasants [172].

Tarazudars

Tarazudar was employed for weighing the grains when the government share was taken from the villagers. He always accompanied the kardar[172] and jointly turned to frauds while weighing the grains. However, on being found guilty, these officials were punished severely by the government [173].

Kotwaal

There were also a number of other officials who were posted in city, Kotwaal was the chief guardian of peace in the city or a town but when posted in a pargannah he was called Thanadar [174]. They were usually tyrannical and exercised oppression on the people. The most important among them known for his oppressive policies was the Shunga Kotwal who let loose the reign of terror by sending his workers to steal whatever they could during the nights from the houses of the people [175]. The kotwaal also collected the coolies for the British visitors and exercised severity on the people [176]. Some of the kotwals of ex-rulers were re-installed in 1854 on the condition of their good behavior towards the people [177].

Harkara

He was a police constable and in every twenty villages there was one Hazkara and all the male members of his family also

served as Harkaras. He received reports from the Dum [178]. We have the reference that the post of Harkarabashi was abolished in 1877-78 only for some time [179].

Dum

He was a policeman, one in every village and he got the rasad from the village [180]. He also looked after the crops, and was not so harsh to the people [181].

There were also a large number of officials who were employed in the service of the state. One section of such officials were zilladars who sometimes were also women [182] and the mohalladars, incharge of mohallas. The pirs and faqirs (priests) had also the privilege to exploit the people [183]. This official class was a powerful ring of iron, inside which the village tax payer lay fascinated, and if he were wise, silent [184]. No doubt, these officials were appointed by the government and remained in office till the pleasure of higher authorities, but they were bestowed with the privilege to extort as much from the people as they could and enrich the government. The government officials as Kardars, Thanadars and Mohalladars were monopolizing actual produce of the valley and kept the Maharaja in dark about the actual state of affairs [185]. The minting officers also defrauded and embezzled the money while minting [186]. The government ordered a common dress for the official class, which comprised blue and green turbans and a long coat [187].

References

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2. Ibid.,

3. Symth, *Reigning Family of Lahore*, P.257., The author writes that "Hardly able to sign his name, he (Gulab Singh) looks after his own account and often has the very grain for his horses weighed out before him".

4. – Drew, F. *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, P.14.

5. Ibid., Drew writes that Gulab Singh "was more ready to intrigue than to employ force, but when the necessity for fighting was clear, he proved almost as much at home in it as he was in diplomacy. A great part of his success was due to the wisdom he displayed in recognizing the times when each could with most advantage be brought into play".

6. Panikkar, K.M., *Founding of the Kashmir State*, P. 12., The author writes that "Gulab Singh was no saint, and where his interest required he did not hesitate to resort to tricks and stratagems which would in ordinary life be considered dishonourable. He was trained in a hard school where lying, intrigue, and treachery were all considered part and parcel of politics".

7. Vigne, G.T., *Travels*, op. cit. vol. I, P. 241 writes about the art of government by Gulab Singh that "An insurrection had taken place near Punch against the authority of Gulab Singh. He had gone in person to suppress it, and succeeded in doing so. Some of his prisoners were flayed alive under his own eye. The execution hesitated and Gulab Singh asked him if he was about to operate upon his father or mother, and rated him for being so chicken-hearted. He then ordered one or two of the skins to be stuffed with straw, the hands were stiffened, and tied in an altitude of supplication, the corpse was then placed erect, and the head, which had been severed from the body, was reversed as it rested on the neck. The figure were then planted on the way-side, that passers by might see it, and Gulab Singh called his son's attention to it, and told him to take a lesson in the art of governing". The author writing about this incident states that Lord Beacon has remarked under the head of cruelity in his book "Advancement of learning", that "if cruelty proceed from revenge, it is justice, if from peril, it is wisdom". From all I

heard of the rebellion, there was neither wisdom for justice to signify the actions I have related now".

8. Drew., *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 14-15. chopra, Gulshan lal, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State (1982)*, Lahore, P.157 writes that Gulab Singh's administration was "extremely oppressive and tyrannical. Gardner, who served under Gulab Singh for several years, characterized his rule as nothing short of "a ruthless barbarity and a system of terror". In the light of other accounts, his expressions are not too strong. His own influence with Ranjit, and more than this, the influence of his brother, allowed Gulab to practice all kinds of severities on the people under his charge. When summoned to Lahore to render accounts or to offer explanation, he always presented himself before his sovereign in all humility and submission. This, together with the ready payments of large sums of money always saved him from disgrace".

9. Singh, Bawa Satinder, *The Jammu Fox—A biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh*, P. 179, the author has quoted *Delhausie's Minute*, P. 117 and writes that "Delhousie, not withstanding his change of heart towards Gulab Singh since the wazirbad conference, typified such disillusionment on the eve of his retirement. "...in 1846, we unwillingly handed over (Kashmir) to a chief who proved himself a veritable tyrant, and who already appears to be the founder of a race of tyrants".

10. Lawrence opp. cit., pp. 2-3.writes that "when I came to Kashmir in 1889, I found the people sullen, desperate and suspicious. They had been taught for many years that they were serfs, without any right but when many disabilities. They were called Zulum-parast or "worshippers of tyranny", and every facility was afforded to their cult". Pervis Gervis, *This is Kashmir*, pp. 62-63 writes about Maharaja Gulab Singh that "so it was that he, who is remembered in history for his oppression and advice, founded the new dynasty, one which was known as the Dogra period. The Maharaja was not a popular ruler, he left things drift in his latter years he was a complete invalid-he had gained all that he could ever have hoped for and his position as a

ruler had been consolidated and made secure by the British who were at hand on the event of trouble".

11. Edwards to Cowley Powles, a friend, September 24, 1846 in Ehwards Merorials, 1:73, cited Singh, Bowa Satinder, *The Jammu Fox*, pp. 165-166. Herbert Edward has epitomized in his gloomy rhetoric as "And now he is a King, and has a wide field wherein to reap. Every living man is to him a blade of golden coin, which he will never leave till he has gathered, and threshed, and winnowed, and garnered".

12. Torrens, *Travels*, P.301. The author writes that "The last state of that country was worse than the first, for Gulab Singh went far beyond his predecessors in the gentle acts of undue taxation and extortion. They had taxed heavily, it is true, but he sucked the very life-blood of the people, but they laid violent hands on a large proportion of the fruits of earth, the profits of the loom, and the work of men's hands but he skinned the very flints to fill his coffers". Charles Hardinge to Walter, April 3, 1847 "PPH" vol. 7, quoted Singh Bawa Satinder, *The Jammu Fox*, P.166 "He has all his life been a luckster on a large scale, is undoubtedly avaricious, and he no doubt finds great difficulty in ridding himself from habits of self-enrichment which have been year by year growing upon him".

13. Mirjanpuri, Mohmad Khalil, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (PMS) (RPD), f.331.

14. Troter, Hodson, P. 133 (1850) cited Singh, Bawa Satinder, *The Jammu Fox*, pp.168-169. Hodson has recorded that the "King is avaricious.... and he won't look beyond his money-bags. There is a capitation tax on every individual practicing any labour, trade, profession or employment, collected daily".

15. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P.15 Drew writes that "with the customary offering of a rupee as nazar anyone could get his oar, even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out "Maharaj-arz-hai" that is "Maharaja's petition". He would pounce down like a hawk on the money, and having appropriated it he would patiently hear

out the petitioner. Once a man after this fashion making a complaint, when the Maharaja was taking the rupee, closed his hand on it and said, "No, first hear what I have to say". Even this did not go beyond Gulab Singh patience, he waited till the fellow had told his tale and opened his hand, then taking the money he gave orders about the case". Saif-ud-Din Mirza *Roznamcha*, Vol. I, f.3, dated 3rd December, 1846 has recorded the method which Gulab Singh applied for getting that rupee from a petitioner-a rope was fastened between Gulab Singh's public hall at Shergarhi palace and a tree on the opposite side of the river Jhelum under the Basant Bagh Ghat in Srinagar. Any petitioner who put his petition and one rupee in the basket received the immediate attention of the Maharaja.

16. Saif-ud-din Khasta, Hargopal Koul, *Guldast-i-Kashmir Part III*, P.885 Saif-ud-Din Mirza, *Roznamcha*, vol.II, dated Nov., 17, 1849, f.87. Edwards to Powley, September 24, 1846, in Edwards Memorials 1:17, cf. Singh, B.S. *The Jammu Fox*., P.184.

17. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IX, f. 175, dated 13 September, 1856.

18. Saif-ud-Din, Mirza, *Roznamcha*, vol. II dated 31st Dec. 1849, f. 13, the author refers to the punishment offered by the Tehsildar of Mir Bahai, to a fourteen year old son (Anup Rai) of a shawl-weaver for stealing Rs. 3/- who perished in the burning hay.

19. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 64. Miskeen, Mohi-ud-Din, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, (PMS)-(RBD), f., 111-b.

20. Khuihami, Hasan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol. II, P. 834. The author writes that Taylor called a general darbar in the Maisuma grounds and in a very loud voice inquired "O you, the people of Kashmir are you happy with the Maharaja's rule or not". Some of he people who were tutored by Pandit Raj Kak Dhar, shouted back "yes, we are" and Taylor Sahib went back to India with the disgusted heart about the character of the people.

21. Saif-ud-Din Mirza, *Roznamcha*, vol. II, dated September, and October, ff. 64-87.

22. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. I, P. 184. The author has recorded that Jammu was the only place in Punjab where the Muslims offered Prayers. "A pious Brahmin, or Sikh having complained that the Mulah's cry disturbed his devotions, Gulab Singh told him that he would order him to desist if the applicant would take the trouble to collect his people for him".

23. Ibid., P. 204. Dugsal, *Letters from India and Kashmir*, P.187. The author has given the description of the Ranbir Singh's personality that "His Highness is in person handsome and of a complexion "I know not how to express it with a more expressive epitheton than Olive-an olive colour his face presenteth, fair for the people of his country, with features of the Grecian type, nose and forehead a straight line and short, black, curly beard. His puggery of lawn with an edge of gold tissue, was relieved in colour by one scarlet fold. On his forehead was painted the yellow symbol with green centre that indicates the followers of siva, and he wore the brahminical cord, also a necklace of berries inlaid with gold and used for the same purpose. The rest of his dress was white cambric and a ribbon of scardet and gold lace across his breast was his badge of authority. His son, dressed in the same way, wore a scimitar with a handle of embossed gold. He is shorter, stouter and fairer than his father, with features indicated of intelligence".

24. Ibid., P.265

25. Ibid., P.370

26. Kripa Ram Diwan, *Gulabnama*, pp. 407-411.

27. Ibid., P.417. The author gives the date of his death as?

"لب گزید و گفت با آتش " از نظر شد آفتاب"

"The angle said that the sun has gone beyond the sight" The "Abjad" value worked out from the words in 1914, which correspond to 1857 A.D.

28. P. Garvis. *This is Kashmir*, P.64.

29. Dugsal, *Letters From India and Kashmir*. pp. 186-187. The author writes about army of Ranbir Singh..... "His army is from forty to fifty thousand strong, and the revenue of Kashmir alone is estimated at fifty lacs of rupees".

30. Drew, F., *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 470., See Chapter on education of the book, pp.

31. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, op. cit. F.199.

32. Richard .Temple, *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, vol. II, P.76 writes Maharaja Ranbir Singh made a great effort to introduce new staples into kashmir, and £ 30, 000 was spent on Sericulture, veins, wine-making and hops.

33. The *Bhart* Jammu, June 1942-Jaisth 1999 Bikram Dharmarth Arik (Number), Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir*, vol.I, P. 79.

34. Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit. P.312, Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, f. 226, Wilson, Andrew, *The Abode of Snow*, P. 394. Khasta, *Guldast-I-kashmir*, P. 225.

35. Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit., pp. 317-318.

36. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, op. cit, f.226.

37. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 176

38. Younghusband, the British resident in *Kashmir* says, "In the early sixties cultivation was decreasing, the people were wretchedly poor, and in any other country their state would have been almost one of starvation and famine..."

39. Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 547-550.

40. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, op. cit. f. 226. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 176.

41. Ranbir Singh covered with gold plate the entire dome of the temple of Shri Gadadharji. Kripa Ram, *Gulzar-I-Kashmir*, pp. 471-473.

42. Aynesley, Mrs. J.C. Murray, *Our Visit to Hindustan, Kashmir, and Ladakh*, P. 74. The author writes, "On one

occasion when the Lieutenant, Governor of the Punjab went up for the summer, it was given over to him as his residence". R. Rankin, *A Tour Through the Himalayas*, p. 164., The writer writes, "The Maharaja's palace is a ghastly hideosity in the heavy Queen Anne style; Ionic columns bedaubed with blue and white bursting out between a stupid uniform row of staring windows, and below is a huge blank red wall with portholes rising out of the river".

43. Hakim-Nur-ud-Din, *Hayat-I-Nur-ud-Din Qadian*, P. 118., cit. Sufi, *Kashir*, vol. II, P. 802. All of them were given salary and every year on 20th Katak they were given a feast, on which thousands of rupees were spent. This day was called "Ankot Day", Khanyari, Ghulam Nabi, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, f. 225. See also Saif-ud-Din Mirza, *Roznamcha*, vol. IV, f. 108 dated 20th October, 1851. On this day (20th October every year) (Ankot) food was cooked and distributed on account of the Rabi and Kharif produce.

44. Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 68. Khanyari, of. cit., f.226.

45. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, pp. 157-158.

46. Dr. Norris, *Kashmir the Switzerland of India*, pp. 8-9.

47. Knight, E.F., *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 82.

48. Ibid.,

49. *Report of the Galancy Commission (1938)*, P. 38.

50. File No. 96/1896 (Pol. & Gen.) letter dated 15th December, 1896, from Vice-President, Kashmir State council to the Resident in Kashmir. It was in 1896 that a resolution was passed by the State Council prohibiting the revenue official from receiving *Nazrana* or making illegal recoveries from villagers.

51. File No. 84/P-86/1913-letter from the Resident Frazer to Maharaja, 15th May, 1913. Saif-ud-Din Mirza, Roznamcha, Vol. IX, f. 90 dated July, 2 1856, Vol. IX. F. 210, dated October 11, 1856.

52. Saif-ud-Din Mirza. *Roznamcha*. vol. II. f.27. dated Feb. 16. 1849.

53. Saif-ud-Din Mirza. *Roznamcha*. vol. I. f. 99/2 dated December 2. 1848.

54. Ibid.. f. 100/2.

55. Khanyari. *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*. op. cit. F. 1958. Saif-ud-Din Mirza, Roznamcha. vol. II. f. 87 dated November 17. 1849.

56. Hasan. *Tarikh*. vol. II. op. cit. P. 834. Khasta. Hargopal Koul. Guldast-I-Kashmir. p. 38.

57. He continued to serve the state even after death of Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1857 and remained Maharaja Ranbir Singh's Diwan upto 1865 when he was attacked by paralysis and his son Kripa Ram took over the charge of his office but he served the state as the Governor of Jammu and died in 1878. Hasan. *Tarikh*. op. cit. Vol. II. P. 866.

58. After 1847 Diwan Hari Chand served Maharaja Gulab Singh by fighting against the chilasis. Mir of Hunza and Gaur Rehman of Gilgit. Hasan. *Tarikh*. op. cit. Vol. II. pp. 835-36. Kripa Ram. Diwan. *Gulabnama*. pp. 396-400. In the Mutiny the Maharaja sent a Jammu contingent of four infantry regiments one cavalry. and a battery of Artillery. He died there of Cholera in 1857. Hasan. op. cit. P. 839. Kripa Ram. *Gulabnama*. P. 418.

59. Zorawar Singh Kahluria was born in 1786 A.D. entered the service of Gulab Singh in about 1817 and served his master in various expeditions such as Baltistan and Ladakh. He died on December 12th, 1841 A.D. in the battle of To-Yo. Cunnigham. Sir Alexander. *Ladakh*. P. 352. Francke. A.H.. *A History of Western Tibet*. pp. 164-1 writes about Zorawar Singh. "For. oriental though. he was. we cannot help admiring a greatness in this man by which he by far surpassed his surroundings. In this man by which he by far surpassed his surroundings. In the beginning of his conquests he was extremely by cautious. but this was essentially necessary. considering the naturally protected position of western Tibet and his entire want of knowledge of the geographical condition of the country. But as

he had a keen eye for the defects of his enemy and was a great strategist, all these difficulties were overcome. He proved himself a true soldier in the endurances of the extraordinary hardships, and in setting an example of personal courage, and if he had not met an early end on the battlefield, he might have impressed his name on the pages of the great history of the world".

60. Cunningham, Sir Alexandar, *Ladakh*, P. 331n. The author writes that Basti Ram was "a Hindu Rajput of Kistwar. He was the Governor of Takla-Kot near the source of the Sarju or Ghagra river, at the time of Zorawar Singh's defeat and death. When he made his escape to the British province of Almora. He speaks in high terms of the Kindness shown to him by the British residents". He served as the Wazir of Leh from 1847 to 1861 A.D.

61. Wazir Lakhpat a Thakur of Kistwar, was a small landholder. After his misunderstanding with his master-Raja Tegh Singh (1791-1820), Wazir Lakhpat took shelter with Gulab Singh at Jammu held high office under him and rendered a good service in campaigns at Iskardu, Zanskar and Ladakh. He was killed at Munshi Bagh, close to Srinagar in the fight between Gulab Singh's troops and Sikh Governor of Kashmir, Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, in 1846. He was among the most trusted officers of Gulab Singh. His son Wazir Zorawar was a confidential minister of Maharaja Gulab Singh. Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, P.120., Panikkar, K.M., *Gulab Singh—Founder of Kashmir*, P. 30.

62. Nathu Shah left the Sikhs, when Kashmir alongwith Gilgit was transferred to Gulab Singh, and accepted the new ruler and went to take the possession of Gilgit for him. The peace which Nathu Shah had established in this frontier by his matrimonial alliances during the Sikh regime, did not continue long. After the visit of a commission of the British Government, comprising of two English Officers, Lieut. Vans Agnew and Young, of the Bengal Engineers, sent for the purpose of ascertaining the limit of Gulab Singh's possessions according to

the Amritsar Treaty, the Hunza Raja made an attack on the Gilgit territory and plundered five villages. Nathu Singh led a force upto the valley of Hunza River to avenge this attack, but his forces were destroyed and he was killed. Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 439-440.

63. Qamar-ud-Din Mirza, *Roznamcha*, vol. XII, dated 27 February, 1860, f. 23. Dated 19, 22 April, 160, ff. 35-36. Wazir Punnu left the Valley with five thousand rupees, collected by him from excessive charges. Ibid., dated 14 July, 1860. F. 47. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. II, P. 846. Khasta, Hargopal Koul, *Guldast-I-Kashmir*, Part II, P. 224. The author writes about Wazir Pannu as:

"این مرد جفاکش و منتظم و تجربه کار است، ولے مغرور و کینه جو خودشناس و عیاش و بے رحم و بخیل
و سرکش و زشت خو بود۔ رعایائے کشمیر از وے بسیار تنگ است۔ اکنوں در کوهستان جموں
است، ولے بر زبان ہر کس که بعد تباہی کشمیر حالا بتباہی کوہستان آمده است"۔

"This man was industrous, experienced and good administrator, but was arrogant, Vindictive, merciless, miserly defiant. The people of Kashmir were sick of his cruel rule. This time he has went to the mountains of Jammu but it is on the lips of everybody that after destroying the people of Kashmir he has went to destroy the people of mountains".

64. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. vol. II, P. 847.

65. Ibid., P. 848. Hasan gives the number of drowned as "28 while Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*" op. cit. f. 201 gives their number as seven.

66. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. vol. II, P. 849.

67. Jamia Masjid, happened to be the central market of Kashmir from the establishment of the Muslim Rule in Kashmir".

68. Hasan, *Tarikh,* vol. II, op. cit, pp. 853-854 Sufi, G.M.D. *Kashir,* vol. II P. 803 calls it a "literary loot".

69. Hasan, *Tarikh,* vol. II, op. cit. pp. 865-866.

70. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh,* op. cit. f.211

71. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh,* op. cit. f. 223.

72. Panikhar, K. M., *The Founding of the Kashmir State,* pp. 144 and 154-155. The author writes "He (Gulab Singh) rewards his servants liberally, the grants of Jagirs, that he gave to all who served him, bear witness to this even today".

73. J. Karbel, *Danger in Kashmir,* pp. 13-14, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* pp. 465-466 records the observations of lemaslic in respect of the total population of the valley as 402,700 in which Hindus numbered 75,000. Among the Jagirdars the Muslaman sunni numbered 2 and shias 3, while the Hindus were 40. See also Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 30.

74. Bazaz, P.N., *Kashmir in Crucible,* P. 9.

75. Afzal Beg, *On the way to Golden Harvest,* P. 5.

76. J. Karbel, *Danger in Kashmir,* pp. 13-14, Bazaz, P.N., *A History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir,* P. 144. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet,* pp. 77-78.

77. Wingate, A., *Preliminary Report of settlement operations in Kashmir and Jammu,* (Lahore 1888), P. 27.

78. Ibid.,

79. Josef Karbel, *Danger in Kashmir,* P. 210.

80. Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom,* vol. I, P. 270. Knight while in Srinagar, wrote about one of his visits with Lawrence, settlement commissioner, that a poor peasant "carrying a small bundle which emitted dreadful odour burst into cries and told Lawrence, "O, Sahib, I have come back from Punjab to my native village but they will not give me back my land. Lo, here in this bundle is my dead child and I have not even so much as a bit of ground in which to burry the body". Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 275.

81. File No. 117/1896 (Pol. & Gen.) (J.G.R.). *Assessment Report on the Mian Jagir Villages* by H.L. Rivet. S. officer with *Preliminary Report*, No. 375 by J.L. Days, S. Commissioner. P.4. Also see file No. 84/P-86/1913.

82. Ibid.,

83. Ibid., P. 5

84. Ibid., pp. 239-251.

85. F/84/P-86/1913 (J.G.R.) letter from the Resident of Kashmir to H.H. Maharaja. 15th May, 1913.

86. Ibid.,

87. Saif-ud-Din, Mirza, *Roznamcha*, vol. III, dated March 21st, 1850, f. 40.

88. Ibid., dated Nov., 23, 1850. f. 150

89. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, P. 657, N.D. Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Duggar Dash*, P. 630., The authors gave the number of Jagirs as 3,115., Taylor, *Diary*, P. 16 23rd June to 3rd July 1847, mentions that "Jageer and Dhurmath lands comprise 68 wells, and about 1,531 beggars of ground barrance".

90. Panikkar, *The Founding of Kashmir State*, pp. 135-136

91. The labourer tilled, sowed, and reaped gold-yielding harvests only to file them for the benefit of the luxury living landlords. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, vol. III, dated Jan., 1850, f.1.

92. J. Karbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, P. 210.

93. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, vol. V, dated August 23, 1852 f. 73, and vol. X, dated Jan. 15, 1857, f. 11. Vol. IX, dated August 1, 1856, f. 126. Nazir-ud-Din, Munshi, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir-Ki-Jung-i-Azadi*, P. 32.

94. *Administrative Report of J&K State* (Samvat 1984), 1927-30, P. 1, (S.G.R.)

95. Younghusband, *Northern Frontier of Kashmir*, P. 17.

96. Afzal Beg, *On the Way to Golden Harvest*, P. 26.

97. Wingate, op. cit. pp. 27-28. Ibid.

98. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 426. Wingate, op. cit. P. 28.

99. Wingate, op. cit. pp. 28-30.

100. Wingate, op. cit. pp. 29-30. The *Report* mentions the instances of land held in excess of the grant as under:

"Diwan Badri Nath got a grant of a deserted government garden and with it was included some land he had brought from a woman and which was stated, on what authority does not appear, to be assessment free. For the lot he was to pay Rs. 48/- per annum. A few years later, he brought some more land for Rs. 100/- (imperial), which he included with the first lot but although in the position of the governor at the time did not think it necessary to add anything to his assessment. That, however, is a trifling omission far from first to last he has never paid even the Rs. 48/- and his agent says the item is adjusted in his masters pay. This, however, seems hardly likely as there is no measures nearly eight kharwars, or nearly 32 acres, and is gradually converting itself by lapse of time into a muafi tenure".

101. Wingate, op. cit. P. 28.

102. Lawrence, *The valley of Kashmir*, P. 426.

103. Karbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, P. 210.

104. Bhan, T. N., *Social and Economic Life*, P. 159., Afzal Beg, *On the Way to Golden Harvest*, pp. 9-10 and 15.

105. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, f. 194.

106. *Tarikh-i-Auraq-i-Kashmir*, f. 112a. Five thousand rupees were levied as a fine (Bakaiyat) on Nasir-ud-Din and then his services were terminated.

107. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated March 1850. f.32.

108. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, vol. IV, dated 9th March, 1851, f. 26. A certain low-caste inhabitant of Dachinpors sold his daughter to the keeper of prostitutes in Amira Kadal, Srinagar, in the month of March, 1851 for one hundred and fifty rupees, out

of which he got only fifty and remaining hundred rupees were kept by Adalatis for legalizing the transaction.

109. Ibid., dated 28 October, 1851, f. 112.

110. Ibid., vol. VI, dated 4 February, 1853, f. 12.

111. Ibid., f. 205.

112. Ibid., f. 208, 215-216.

113. Wakefield, *The Happy Valley*, P. 89.

114. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 222. Lawrence writes that when he commenced the work Kashmir was divided into three wazarats and fifteen Tehsils:-

1. Khas Wazarat	1. Khas	2. Ich Nagam
	3. Donsu Manham	4. Wular Vihu
	5. Cherat.	
2. Anantnag Wazarat	6. Anantnag	7. Sri Ranbir Singh
	8. Deosar	9. Dachanpora
	10. Shupiyan	
3. Sopur or Kamraj	11. Lal	12. Haomal Zainigir
	13. Uttar machipura	14. Biru Magam
	15. Krihum.	

However, the boundaries of the tehsils were not well defined so there was confusion defrauding. Lawrence, P. 419. Kahan Singh, *Tarikh-i-Rajagan-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, P. 4 Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 96 gives the number of tehsildars as 24 in Kashmir. Qamar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha* Vol. XII, dated 27 Sept., 1860, f. 105, gives the list of 16 tehsildars as new appointees on 27th Sept., 1860.

115. Marison, *A Lonely Summer in Kashmir*, pp. 78-79.

116. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 64.

117. Robert Throp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit. P. 50.

118. *Administrative Report of 1889-90*, P. 73.

119. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P.420. Saif-ud-Din. *Roznamcha*, vol. III, dated 31st Dec., 1849, f. 113.

120. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 64.

121. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, P. 50. Qamar-ud-Din, Roznamcha, vol. XII, dated sept., 1860, f. 110. The author gives the names of certain specified tehsildars who employed military power in 1860 for the realization of revenue as:

1.	Dewan Hari Singh Dayal, Tehsildar (Nagdi)	— 100	Men
2.	Mohanand Pandit (Dhar) Tehsildar (Jinsi)	— 75	Men
3.	Four Tehsildars of Shali, each assisted by	— 5	Men
4.	Sahaz Ram, Naib Tehsildar (Naqdi)	— 11	Men
5.	Tehsildar, Mir Bahari (Dal Lake)	— 11	Men
6.	Tehsildars of Parganahs, for each tehsil	— 14	Men

121. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 419. Major General Ralph Young, *Papers* (India office Library) cited Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, pp. 240-281.

122. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 419, while as Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, vol. XII, f. 120, dated 13th Dec., 1860, writes that Maharaja Ranbir Singh appointed Punjabi Tehsildars with a salary of Rs. 100/- p.m. while as Kashmiri tehsildars Rs. 80/- p.m.

123. Lawrence, *The valley of Kashmir*, P. 419.

124. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated Dec., 1, 1848, f.11.

125. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 412.

126. *Administrative Report of 1889-90*, P. 75, Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P.442.

127. Lawrence, *The valley of Kashmr*, pp. 420-21. The author writes that "on behalf of the Tehsildars of Kashmir it is fair to remark that the small pay of their office, the uncertainty of tenure, the absence of any system of pensions for old age

(inglishi) and the want of honour attaching to the post, some excuse for the peculation which used to be carried on".

128. Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, vol. XIII, dated 4 Feb., 1861, f. 22.

129. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*. P.422.

130. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit. P. 50.

131. Salig Ram, *The Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh*, pp. 230-231. Hari Om, *Adminstration of Justice in Jammu and Kashmir*, P. 2.

132. Baron Hugel, *Kashmir and the Punjab*, P. 168.

133. Robert Thorp, opp. cit. P. 168.

134. Salig Ram, *The Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh*, pp. 230-231.

135. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, vol. III dated March 16, 1850, f.9 Due to the tyrannies of Mian Ameer Singh, Thanadar of Phak the agriculturists were quitting the village at the rate of one in ten.

136. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, vol. IV, dated 20 April 1851, f. 40 Mian Ameer Singh, Thanadar of Phak, had been compelling fishermen of Dal Lake to give up their ancestral profession and instead plough one Kharwar of land but they got exemption because they offered to pay double the tax which was levied on them.

137. Salig Ram, *The Biography of Gulab Singh*, pp. 224-225.

138. Ibid., P.226.

139. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit. P. 50 Lawrence, *The valley of Kashmir*, P. 402. The author writes that "In the lower belt he would allow nothing to be grown but rice, in the middle belt he allowed some rice to be grown, and in the highest belt he permitted no rice".

140. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit., pp. 50-51. Taylor, *Diary* 23rd June to 3rd July 1847, P. 23. Robert Thorp writes that he had certain number of villages under him,

"of whose crops he has to keep a strict accounts, and to each of which he goes in person at the time when the different crops ripen, in order to superintendent the different distribution of each. He reports to his Thanadar, and causes the government shares of the crops to be dispatched to the city, or elsewhere, according to the orders he may receive in lieu of some or the inferior kinds of grain, the government will occasionally take an equivalent in money from the Kardar. The zamindars do not, however, benefit by this arrangement since in these cases the kardar takes from them the full amount of produce, and sells the amount, for which the government have taken money, to his own advantage, and since this arrangement is greatly preferred by the Kardars, there must be a large demand for these grains among the people, since in order to make their own profits, they are, of course, obliged to sell them at a higher rate than the very high prices demanded by government.

141. Salig Ram, *The Biography of Gulab Singh,* P. 37.

142. Ibid., p.38.

143. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol.II, dated Jan., 1, 1848, ff. 3,5,6,7,9.

144. Ibid.,

145. Ibid., vol. I, dated July 7, 1847, f. 9, Vol. IX dated oct. 4, 1856, ff. 201, 188. The author gives an instance of a Kardar, Suliman Khan of Machihama who had failed to liquidate state balanes of revenue and committed suicide. Maharaja Gulab Singh ordered that Suliman Khan's children should be arrested and made to pay the balances otherwise all balance holders shall also commit suicide and state will lose its revenue. See also *Roznamcha,* Vol. IX, dated Feb., 1, 1856, f.22. A pandit Kardar of Chinab Zanardan was arrested alongwith his family for being in arrears to the state, but was released on the request of Raja Kak Dhar.

146. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. IX, Dated August 6, 1856, f.132.

147. Ibid., Vol. V dated Jan., 1, 1852, f.1.

148. Ibid. Vol. IX, dated Feb., 23, 1856, f. 26.

149. It is evident from the instance, which happened on August 10, 1852 when the peasants of Kohlar carried the dead body of a Dom who had been beaten severely by the agents of Kardar and had died. The compensation paid to them was merely rupees two for the burial of the deceased. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, vol. V, dated August 10, 1852, f. 69.

150. Kalhana, *Rajtarangini*, Vol. I, Book I, P. 210 and F.N.

151. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, P. 51. Salig Ram, *The Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh*, pp. 229-230. The Patwari was "to prepare reports giving in full the details of daily rations, fire-wood, or other things of necessity".

152. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 400.

153. Ibid..

154. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VI dated May 27, 1853 f. 62. The hands of such patwaris were tied with stones and then they were paraded through the city and fined at the rate of one rupee for each day of delay. In April 1852, some rules and regulations governing the duties of the Patwaris were introduced by the government. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. V, dated April 13, 1852, f. 41.

156. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 446. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit. p. 51. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol.X, dated June 20, 1857, f.153, Ranbir Singh asked Wazir Punnu to appoint one patwari in each village for raising ten thousand kharwars as revenue and patwari was to be paid forty kharwas as his salary annually.

157. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 45.

158. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 64. Walia, *In the Land of Lala Rukh*, pp. 35-36.

159. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 64.

160. Ibid., P. 65.

161. Ibid..

162. Anesley, our Visits to Hindustan, op. cit. p. 90.

163. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit. P. 51.

164. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, P. 402.

165. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, P. 51. "It is said to be a common instance of oppression for the Shaqdar to export money from the zamindars by threatening to accuse him of stealing the government grain, in which case, rather than court an investigation whose justice he has every reason to doubt, the zamindar is fain to purchase the silence to his oppressor according to ability". Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol-XII, dated 17 Dec., 1860, f. 122. The author gives the instance of snatching additional products from the peasants by the Shaqdar of zaingir who had collected five chickens and two kharwas of Maiz from the peasants.

166. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, vol. IX, dated August, 4, 1856, f. 131.

167. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, P. 51.

168. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, pp. 51-52. Sazawal extorted money from the Shaqdar in the same way as the latter exacted it from the peasants". None of these who are thus oppressed ever seem to contemplate such a step as that of complaining to the Thanadar of their pergannah, or the tehsildar of the district, a curious proof of the estimation in which the justice of these officials, one of whose nominal duties is to receive complaints, is held".

169. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit. vol. I, P. 310.

170. Ibid.,

171. Robert Thorp, Kashmir Misgovernment, p. 51.

172. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit. vol. I, pp. 310-311. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, P. 52.

173. R. Logan, *Report on the Financial Condition of Kashmir State*, 1890 (Micro Film), P. 26. The author writes "the profession of weighing is a special one, and in Kashmir the members of the profession are said to be so destrous that in

weighing out a kharwar (2 maunds). they can add two traks (11 ½ seers) without being detested". (one kharwar is equal to sixteen traks when each trak is equal to five seers and three challiks i.e. a kharwar is equal to eighty three seers). In 1852 A.D. the weighmen of Jawaharlal, chief keeper of Shali-stores, had been giving false weights and also charging more than fixed rates. These men were publicly disgraced, their heads half shaven and then paraded through the city. Saif-ud-Din. *Roznamcha*. Vol. V. dated April 18. 1852. f. 42. Saliq Ram.

174. Saliq Ram. *The Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh*. P. 230.

175. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*. vol. II dated De., 1, 1848. f. 12. In 1849 Shunga left for Jammu alongwith his robbers with the looted property in cash and.kind. Ibid., dated Dec., 13, 1849, f. 101.

176. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*. vol. V, dated Oct. 6, 1852. f. 88. The Kotwals were enlisting coolies among the people just moving in the streets and those who bribed them got their exemption.

177. Ibid., vol. VII, dated Dec., 9. 1854. f. 308. Lala Bhola Nath who had served as Kotwal under General Mehan Singh and Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din was appointed Kotwal of Srinagar by Mian Ranbir Singh subject to be kind to the people.

178. Robert Thorp. *Kashmir Misgovernment*. P. 52. Saif-ud-Din. Roznamcha. vol. II, dated Dec., 1. 1848. f. 6.

179. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*. op. cit. f. 219, but in 1884. we can see that Buzariq Shah. son of Mir Aziz Ullah was transferred from the *Nayabat-i-Adalat* to the post of *Khadmat-i-Nigran-i-Akhbarat* and the officer of the Harkarabashi. Compare Ibid., f. 220.

180. Robert Thorp. *Kashmir Misgovernment*. P. 52.

181. Lawrence. *The Valley of Kashmir*. P. 311.

182. We come across the name of Sharfi (a woman) who was acting in 1885 A.D. as woman Zilladar. Officer Controlling

several Mohallas of Shergarh. She assisted government in examining women culprits. Saif-ud-Din. *Roznamchas*. vol. XIII. dated Feb., 21, 1885. f. 28.

183. Details are given in the Chapter VI.

184. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 401.

185. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*. vol. IV. dated Sept., 22. 1851, f. 92.

186. In 1851 A.D., Mian Ranbir Singh made a sudden check of the minting house in Srinagar. He made inquiries from Jan Shah. Sukh Shah and the Silver smiths connected with state currency. Arjan Shah admitted that he mixed an alloy of eight annas in one hundred rupees embezzling the amount so gained from minting was eleven lakh rupees. Mian Sahib submitted the case to the Maharaja. Saif-ud-Din. *Roznamcha*, vol. IV. f. 105. dated Oct. 16, 1851.

187. When in 1857 Jwala Sahai. collected twenty-two thousand rupees as extortionate demands and rasum from cultivators and other people in 1856-57. The Maharaja told him to keep eleven thousand for himself and deposit the balance of eleven thousand in the state treasury. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha* Vol. X, dated May 25, 1857. f. 127.

Section—II

ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

Agrarian System and Effects of Famine and Natural Calamities

Agriculture was the predominant sector of economy of the Valley of Kashmir. More than eighty percent of the population depended on agriculture [1]. Even those who were engaged in other Occupations depended on agriculture for their food and some raw-materials. The nature in Kashmir is bountiful both on land and in water [2] and appeals to every want and taste "for the cultivator of the soil" there is fertility of land, abundance of water" variety and plenty of natural products whether grains or fruits" [3]. It is the "cultivator's paradise" [4]. The peasants lived in the villages, which were the embodiment of "sylvan" beauty, picturesqueness and the peaceful real life [5]. Kashmir village was rich in natural beauty [6].

The villages, 'conspicuous in the landscape' were 'populous'[7], the cultivator's cottage was seen peeping through the foliage of plane-trees, walnut, apricot, apple and the chinar trees [8]. These trees covered the poverty and squalor [9] of the habitation. The 'unrivalled' shady plain trees of great size were extremely beautiful. The walnut trees cost the graceful shade with their gnarled trunks over the large portion of the village. It was the meeting place for the villagers every evening in the summer and for old men during the day. The walnut trees belonged to the villages as a whole [10]. There was also the "gigantic chinar" which overshadowed half the village and these were alive with the "chirriping of the myna (sparrow) and the singing of the bulbul" [11]. The sparkling streams were over bung with willows surrounded by the landsome fields of 'Imberzal' (Defodil) or by the green rice-fields, these stretched from the

alluvial plain upto the base of the mountains and the higher slopes were covered with maize while the flat tops of the karewes were used specially for wheat, barley, mustard and lime-seed [12]. The village grave-yards could be found full of large purple or white irises, roses and irises were the two special beauties of Kashmir [13]. In each village at the foot of every stream was to be found a chebutra (a raised platform of wood or stone) and villagers either slept or prayed or smoked their chillums on it[14].

The Kashmiri village is different from that of Jammu, Poonch, Dardistan, Baltistan and Ladakh [15] and even in the Valley itself the country-sides or the villages showed marked differences in different regions [16]. But inspite of the natural beauty of the villages, these were steep and narrow [17]. The villages were a collection of ruined houses, "tenantless and deserted " [18], fallen into decay. Each village was a story of ruins[19]. The huts of the peasants were in a miserable condition and the villagers were equally miserably filthy and dirty [20]. The filth in the villages could be attributed to the official cause. If these villages happened to be in a prosperous condition in their outward structure, these were heavily taxed by the government. The people left their lands and houses due to the oppression exercised on them by the government and its corrupt officials [21].

In the Valley a large portion of the land was under the villages [22]. Lawrence, the Settlement Commissioner to Kashmir has recorded in 1890 that the total area occupied by the Kashmiris for cultivation was 1,195,555 acres including the cultivable area in Gurais which was 6,054 acres [23]. In Kashmir there were plenty of natural resources, abundance of water, good soil and the peasant had "not spared his opportunities" being a hard worker.[24] The agriculturer was dependent on the soil. operations, the system of cultivation and production of crops.

Soils

Kashmir possessed a large area of alluvial soil of two classes due to the system of rivers in the Valley- the new alluvial of a

great fertility and the old alluvial of-less fertility, but of moderate tillage producing excellent out-turns [25].

The old alluvial formed the table-lands called karewas–(Udar) [26]. These are considered by geologists to be the lacustaine. deposits. The karewas were of two types, those whose summits were almost flat and those that slopped up continuously to the mountains [27]. This kind of soil was the chief characteristic of the Valley, and were found all over the valley in almost all directions[28]. The surface of the karewas was verdant and smooth as a 'bowling green' and were divided by mountain streams from the Pir Panjal on their way to Jhelum [29]. If the soil secured the required irrigation that resulted in a fertile tract but generally it depended on rain for irrigation [30]. This kind of land yielded wheat, barley, Indian corn, Inferia cereals, cotton, line-seeds and rice in a larger quantity for first three years. Thereafter it was left follow for a period of time. Then irrigation restored to the land its fertility [31].

The classes of soil recognized by the Kashmiris were many in number. According to Wingate the four classes of soil known to them were (i) Abi (Irrigated), (ii) Sambher (Sailabi), (iii), Nambal (Swampy), and (iv) Khushki (dry) [32].

The Abi land included three kinds of soil, first all the irrigated alluvial soil of the plains called Abi Shali. Secondly, karewas, also rice land requiring rest of three years for sowing one crop after the other. Thirdly, Saqazar found less in villages but in the city, put under special crops as vegetables. It was irrigated by Dinglis (Tolivan)—a common feature of vegetable gardens [33].

Under the second head, Sailabi was included the land on river-banks extending at a little distance from the river. These lands being water-logged and having sufficient moisture, grew excellent crops of Shali, Makki, oil-seeds and other products without any irrigation [34].

Under the third head Nambal fell all the swampy lands from

the richest soil to a maish covered with water. It had three divisions. (a) Nambal Khushki, after drainage crops grew in it. (b) Nambal Shali, when soil did not dry up, rice was grown. (c) Nambal Banjar being too swampy to produce any crop except grass and reeds. The fourth Khushki consisted of all the dry land dependent entirely on rain and growing wheat, barley, maize and such other crops [35]. However, the Kashmiris recognized four classes of soil, which required a peculiar treatment when under rice cultivation- those were Gurtu, Bohil, Sekil, and Dazanlad.

The Gurtu, generally contained a large proportion of clay, and in the scanty rainfall it was the safest land for rice cultivation[36]. Bohil was of great natural strength but it was liable to the disease of Rai. Sekil was a light loam with a sandy subsoil and if provided with sufficient irrigation and good rains, gave a large yield in crops. Dazanlad chiefly found on low lying ground near swamps, was the hot soil requiring irrigation at the time of ripening [37]. There were also other minor types of land recognized by Kashmir used for rice-cultivation. These were Tand, land reclaimed from forests Zabal Zamin, injured by percolation from irrigated fields, Kharzamin, sour-soil, not holding irrigation, Lemb, land in which spring occurs, Ront, soil a bad clay which always caked; Shath, was a stony and sandy soil of the mountain rivers, Tats, too warm soil with the presence of large stones, liable to Rai [38].

MANURES

A Kashmiri villager wasted nothing which was of any use in agriculture. He possessed ample manure for his fields. This manure was in the shape of the dung of cattle, sheep or horses. It was kept in reserve during the winter for agriculture. Dried twigs were used as fuel. Its ashes were used as manure in the fields [39]. Kashmiri considered turf-clods (rich silt surface of the earth taken from the sides of water courses) more effective for rice and poultry manure were considered strongest and used in the fields growing onions. The dung of the sheep was kept for rice fields. Kashmiris considered cow-dung more valuable than horse dung

because they fed cows with oil cakes and nothing of this kind was given to the horses. The Kashmiris also used poudrette, night soil, mixed with the clay and pulverized by the action of sun, in cultivation [40].

IRRIGATION

Kashmir, being mainly the rice-producing country, depended for its agriculture on irrigation which was both easy and abundant [41]. In the Valley the irrigation was natural as well as artificial. The snow of higher elevations fed the various mountain streams which flowed into the Jhelum [42]. Thus the snow and rain formed the main sources of irrigation for agriculture [43]. From both sides of the Jhelum the country rose in bold terraces, and the water passed quickly from one village to another. At convenient points on the mountain streams, temporary weirs or projecting spans were constructed and the water was taken off in the main channels, which passed into net-work of small ducts eventually emptied themselves into the Jhelum or into the large swamps which lay along its banks.

Lower down the dams were erected. All villages which depended for their irrigation on a certain weir were obliged to assist in its construction and repair. The weir consisted of wooden stakes, the best grass for this purpose being the fikal. The channels often were, taken over ravines and around the edges of the Karewa cliffs, and irrigation then become very difficult. The system of distribution was rough and simple, but it had the advantage of rare disputes among cultivators of the same village were unknown [44].

The irrigation water was also obtained from the springs of Kashmir [45], but this water being cold, did not carry with it the fertilizing silt brought down by the mountain streams [46]. The rivers (kuhls) too formed an important source of irrigation [47]. The lift irrigation was used especially for vegetable gardens, which was carried out by long pole acting as a lever and working on a pivot upon a cross-piece resting on two up rights. The short end of the pole carrying large stone as counter-praise and on the

miserable condition of the producers [67]. Each of the dynasties which ruled over Kashmir tried to hoard wealth and the cultivators ceased to produce the agricultural wealth [68]. However, whatever they produced was as under.:

Rice

Rice was the staple food of Kashmir [69]. The cultivator devoted all his energy to the growing of this crop. There were many varieties [70] of rice found in Kashmir. Certain Villages were famous for producing peculiar types of rice; Telbal on the Dal Lake for Chughal, Lar for its Anzan, Salera for Gudh Krilum [71]. Rice was exported to Gilgit, Leh and Skardu [72] and sent to the city at lower rates [73]. The rural population was denied rice and had to live on grains other than rice, as singhara or fruits and were allowed to get only a portion for seed and sometimes whole produce was seized [74]. Rice formed the principal article of revenue and its method of collection was fraudulent [75]. Even after producing a large quantity of Shali the peasants abondoned the valley for reason of food scarcity [76].

Maize

Maize (Zee Mays) *Makai* was grown in the higher villages occupied by Gujar graziers where a large stock of manure was available from their buffaloes and cattle. There was, however, very little need of manure or irrigation for maize [77]. It was cultivated on swampy lands at higher elevation and also on the karewas. The produce of karewa land was considered sweater and more nourishing. It was sown in May or June and ripened in the late September so was a kharif crop. The young stalks formed the fodder for cattle [78]. There were two varieties of maize[79]. Kashmiris considered it next to shali as the staple crop. The villagers subsisted on maize during scarcity. It was sent also to the city and for that too, the villagers bore the cost of its transport to Srinagar [80].

Cotton

Cotton (Gossypium herbaceum) Kapas grew "in every variety of situation", on the karewa end in the low lying lands. It

was sown at the end of April or in May and required no manure[81]. No doubt, an attempt was made to introduce the nankin or brown cotton from Yarkand, but it resulted in degeneration after the third sowing [82]. The cotton fields were well-weeded by women with the hand-hoe. The average production of cotton per kharwar of land was about six kharwars[83]. Inspite of the depressed condition of the fibre, it happened to be the village staple for home use and the villagers preferred the home-made cotton cloth which was stronger and thicker than the cloth imported from Punjab and they also got oil and an excellent cattle food from it. Thus in every part of Kashmir cotton spinning-wheel and the weaver's walk were familiar objects [84]. Formerly cotton of good quality was produced in abundance and was sold for 6 Lbs rupee[85]. During the period under study, cotton was the government monopoly and no private enterprise was allowed in this sphere. The villagers were even subjected to tyranny. The villagers, unfamiliar with the art of weaving, were asked by the government to weave the cotton- a tyranny on them [86].

Flax

Flax (Linum usitatissinum) *Alish* was also cultivated all over the Valley especially on the lower slopes of mountains. The land was ploughed twice and a third ploughing was done in April when the seeds were sown. No manure or weeding was given to the crop. The cultivators did not pay much attention to its cultivation and an average crop was to be 1 ½ to 2 maunds of linseed to an acre. It was the spring crop, harvested at the end of July [87].

Buck-Wheats

Buck-wheat (Fagopyum esculentum) *Trumbi* was cultivated generally all over the valley but in particular in higher villages [88]. When the cultivator saw that there could be no rice for want of irrigation, he immediately sowed the trumbi. There were two

varieties of trumbi - the sweet trumbi and the bitter trumbi, the latter being the only food-grain of the people of higher villages. The unhusked grain being black in colour, was ground in mills and made into bread or was eaten as porridge. The sweet-trumbi was the good food for horses and for poultry. The seed yielded a hard, bitter and unpalatable bread which was hot. The average crop was 4 ½ maunds per acre [89].

Oil Seeds

Oil seeds were largely grown in Kashmir because they did not use ghee (clarified butter) in their food but used vegetable oils- they used these oils both for lighting and cooking purposes[90].

Rapes

Rape (Brassica campestris) *Tilgaglu* was the chief of the oil-seeds with three varieties. Tilgoglu, Taruz or Sharshaf and Shadiji, Tilgoglu was the spring crop sown in September and October on dry and swampy lands. The second variety Taruz or sarshaf, sown in spring, yielded three maunds of seed to the acre. The third, Sandiji, sown in the standing rice, yielded a small crop[91].

Seasame

Sesame (Sesamum Indicum) *Til* was grown in Kashmir mostly for its oil content [92]. It was sown in April. The land was ploughed four times and the fifth ploughing was done at the sowing time. It needed a temperate summer with gentle and timely rains and required no manure, but was to be sown, in rich soil. The crop was weeded with the hand-hoe, and was carefully looked after being the most delicate plant. It ripened after rice and blankets were spread under the plant at the time to catch the seed which fell out of the pods with the slightest movement. In Kashmir the sweet oil was valued as an ointment and the average crop was 1 ½ maunds of seed per acre [93].

Walnut Oil was also extensively used and esteemed by the natives. Only a small portion of the produce was kept for eating

purposes. rest was turned into oil. sown as seed in March in well manured soil [94]. All the edible oil was under government control and state took a large portion of as a revenue from the villagers[95].

Pulses-Dal

Kashmiris did not attach much importance to the pulses. which was of many varieties. Moong (phaseolus Mungo) *mung* was the best [96]. The land was ploughed three times and the seed was sown in May. in fertile lands. which required a rest and no irrigation. no manuring and no weeding. The crop ripened in September and yielded 2 ½ maunds to 3 maunds per acre on an average in the valley [97].

Mah

Mah (Phaseolus radiatus) was cultivated in the same way as *mung*. It gave a heavier crop and was tasteless as against mung. yielding 4 maunds per acre [98].

Mothi

Mothi (Phaseolus aconitifolius) was sown in April and often sown in rice fields which were out of condition. It was not used as a food for men but formed a fodder for the sheep in winter. It was inferior in quality [99].

Peas

Peas (pisum Sativum) and beans (Viciafaba) *Razma* were cultivated occasionally in the fields adjacent to villagers habitats end in vegetable gardens. Beans were of several varieties [100].

Amaranth

Amaranth (Amaranthus) *Ganhar* was the crop. which required no manuring or irrigation. It was sown in May and harvested in September and the grain was first parched. then ground and eaten with milk or water. It was considered a healing food by the people and the Hindus ate it on fast days [101].

Barley

Barley (Hordeum hexastichon) *Wishka* was largely grown but it was of an inferior quality. The land was ploughed once and

the second ploughing was done at the time of sowing from October to December. It required neither weeding nor manuring. The main variety of barley was indeed a good one and was sown at the higher elevation of 7,000 feet or more, known as grim or Tibet barley [102]. The people living in such higher villages used it as fodder, harvested in June. It was exhibited at the Lahore Exhibition in 1864 [103]. Barley yielded on average of 8 ½ maunds per acre.

Wheat

Wheat (Tuticum Vulgare) *Kanak* was grown for bakeries on karewas, requiring no manure or irrigation. It was sown in September and reaped in July. The rice eating Kashmiris looked down upon it, and left its valuable straw as the fodder. It was liable to two diseases-one, known as surma which turned the grain into black powder with a bad smell and the sas, a kind of black smutty fungus [104]. In 1814 it was exhibited in the Lahore Exhibition. The government took its share from the cultivators at the rate of Rs. 5/2/6 per kharwar which was the fixed price since 1866 [105]. Its production on dry lands was 7 maunds or 560 Lbs. per acre [106].

Saffron

Saffron (Crocus Sativus) *Kong* of Kashmir has been celebrated for its excellence, since time immemorial and has become an integral part of the fame and fable of Kashmir [107]. When in full-blossom in October or November during a moonlit night, it presented a sight that would enchant the most fastidious [108]. Saffron required the richest soil which was to be met within Pampur in the Udars (karewa) known as Sonakrand (the golden basket) [109]. The seeds were sown which lasted three years and for the next eight years, the plots had to remain follow for regaining fertility. Tnen the bulbs were planted in squares, which lived for fourteen years without any help from the cultivator [110]. The plantation commenced in July and August. The flowers appeared in the middle of October and seven-day afterwards the picking

commenced. When the flowers were collected the real work of extracting started. The flowers were dried in sun, the red-orange-tip stigma was picked which formed the finest quality saffron or Shahi-Zafron while the white loose stigma was of inferior quality and in dried condition was known as Mongra then by the system of Laccha the saffron was collected [111].

The saffron of Kashmir being superior to that of Italy and Maracco [112], surpassed even that grown in Spain, France and Sicily [113]. It was used for perfume, confectionary, delicacy, in all the religious and social ceremonies especially by the Hindus who considered it sacred and used it as forehead mark [114]. It was also used as a medicinal property and a cure against cold and coughs or headache [115].

The system of its collection settled by the Government was on contract basis [116]. At the harvest time the flowers were picked and put into bags, and then taken to the farmer who used to keep one bag for himself and the other was given to the cultivator [117]. It was the cash (Naqdi) item of which there was the largest produce during the years 1848 to 1850 [118]. The crushing mode of its collection was miserable, for those peasants who were forced by the government to separate saffron from the flowers and were fined, if they refused to do the job. The saffron was usually sold at the rate of 14 rupees Hari Singh for one Menwetta (1 ½ seer) but the concerned authorities charged them at the rate of rupees 20/- [119]. The roots from which the dye was extracted were sold at 8 annas a seer [120].

VEGETABLE PRODUCTION

The beautiful lakes of the Valley, also yielded some articles of food, which brought considerable revenue to the government. The stem of the Nymphaea lotus (Nadur) was taken from the lakes and used as food [121]. Another chief article of food and revenue was the singhara waternut, gari, (trapa bispinosa), which grew abundantly in all the lakes especially in the Wular lake in its muddy bottom. It constituted the food of about thirty

thousand persons for five months in the year [122]. The singhara nuts were dried, pounded, ground into floor and made into a kind of bread, which was eaten by the poor. It was either eaten raw, boiled, roasted, fried or dressed in various ways after being put into flour [123]. It was the government monopoly as it had a ready market in Punjab [124]. The government took its share at ¼ th of the produce [125]. In 1860 it was decided that ten traks be charged out of one kharwar and the cultivation was to keep only six traks out of a kharwar for himself [126]. The people were as such deprived of this wild product and were put to hardship while collecting the produce [127].

Floating Gardens

Kashmiris created two types of artificial lands for cultivation, first the radh (floating gardens) and secondly the Demb. The Dembs were created all over Kashmir and produced great variety of crops. But these were liable to high government exactions [128]. The floating gardens were a unique feature of the Dal Lake, created by the peasants in varied size, of great length and of narrow breadth. They resembled the chinampas of old Mexico[129]. These gardens produced melons, cucumbers, turnips, carrots, cabbages, egg-plants apples and such other vegetables. But being very watery these vegetables had a slight inferior flavour [130]. The floating gardens yielded a large revenue to the government [131].

Every villager had a small garden plot where he raised a large quantity of vegetables without much labour [132]. Kashmiri peasant did not pay much attention to the vegetable cultivation. But still he produced the vegetables not only for home consumption, but for his neighbour [133]. Karam Sagh, (brassica oleracca) knol-kohl was the national vegetable of the people, which was dearest to their hearts [134]. Turnips (Brassica campestris), gogji next in importance, were cultivated largely in the Valley, and were consumed in large quantity during the winter. The dried cakes of turnip were eaten by Kashmiri in

round cakes with a hole in the middle [135]. Cucumbers (Cuceuinis Sativas). Lar and melons were produced in a large quantity [136]. Kashmir was the home for potatoes. (Solanum tuberosum) Alu were produced in abundance for export to the Punjab [137]. Excellent potatoes came from Trabal in Nawbug. But there was a fear that any good crop could be seized by government [138]. Pumpkins (cucmbita pepe). Al. were of three varieties grown in Kashmir.

Kashir Al, Parim Al, and Mashad Al were produced in abundance. the last being eaten by Muslims [138a]. Tomatoes (Solanum lycopersicum) Ruangun was the popular vegetable. preserved for winter in the dried form [139]. Chillies, (Capsicum Sp.) Mintswangan were grown by regular gardening cultivators. Onions (Alliviv Sp.) Pran was found on the hills and also cultivated. The Hindu eschewed these but were largely used by the Muslims [140]. There were vegetables as Egg-plants (Solonum Melongene) Wongan. Asparagus (Asparagus officinialis). carrot (Daucus carota) Gajar and the wild herbs used by the Kashmiris very frequently [141].

FRUITS

In Kashmir, nature itself is the gardener as far as production of fruits is concerned. The soil was rich and fertile [142]. It was alluvial and the moist atmosphere helped the abundant growth of fruits in Kashmir. Obviously, the Valley had greater facilities for horticulture than any other country [143]. Fruits grew wild as well as were cultivated in the Valley. These fruits were renowned for their juices, flavour, and durability throughout the whole world. Jams and Khameer oil [144] were also prepared out of these fruits. These were largely exported [145] and grafting was also practiced[146].

Apple (Pyrus Malus) *Tsunt* was the staple [147] fruit of the Valley used as an important article of food in the dried form, known as tsunthut, during the winter [148]. The apples grew wild and were also cultivated: where these grew wild they were

uprooted by the villagers and replanted in their own orchards [149]. These ripened in autumn, September, in great plenty that even a large portion was left on the ground for cattle to eat.

Pears (Communis) *Tang* was considered by Kashmiris of secondary importance. It ripened in September. These grew wild and were replanted by villagers in their orchards. These were of different varieties, Nak being the best of all and was preserved and considered as an article of gift and trade [150]. All other varieties did not survive for more than two months. Goshi bug was considered the delicate and sweet fruit produced not anywhere in Asia except Kashmir [151].

Mulberry (Morus Sp.) *Tul* was remarkable for its utility to sericulture [152]. The silk-worms were fed on the mulberry leaves which served also as fodder for animals. The tree produced the mulberry fruit abundantly which ripened in May when people ate it in large quantities. These rotted around the villages and bears ate them largely. There were eight varieties of it [153]. Shah Tut being the best purple, juicy and esteemed as a preserve [154].

Grapes (Vitisvinifore) *Dacch* it has been the ancient fruit industry of Kashmir [155] and flourished during the reign of Mughals. It disappeared during the period of Afghans but the Sikhs revived it to a little extent [156]. Maharaja Ranbir Singh once again revived the industry with the introduction of vines from Bordaux in France. Small cutting of the plant of grapes from the west [157] particularly France were got and planted at Bagh-i-Shirazi [158] (Gupkar) on the Dal Lake. No doubt, it produced high results and the wines prepared out of it were exhibited at the Calcutta Exhibition in 1883, where the wine from Kashmir grapes was greatly hailed [159]. The system was a success, producing during the year 1882,163 kharwars of grapes, in 1883-160 kharwars, in 1884, 340 kharwars and the production of wines in 1883 was 7,894 bottles [160]. It had many varieties [161], but the project failed because cultivators and villagers did not pay much attention to the industry who cut down their good vines to escape the official exactions [162].

Walnut (Juglans Regis.) *Dun* it has been the indigenous tree. grown all over the Valley at an elevation of about 5,500 feet to 7,500 feet adding to the economy and beauty of the villages. Wherever cultivated, each full grown tree yielded from four to six thousand nuts annually, some trees even yielded ten thousand or more each [163]. The tree was so valued for its fruit that very little of its timber was available. Walnut trees were raised from seeds sown in March. These seeds germinated in two months and yielded in its full bearing the fruits in ten years [164]. Walnuts were of different varieties, kaghazi being the best of all.

The kernel of walnut was converted into oil [165]. The fruit provided much financial aid to the cultivators. The bark (dandaras) was largely exported to the Punjab [166]. Before the Sikh rule the crop was divided equally between the government and the cultivator but it was during their period that the government took three-fourths leaving one fourth to the cultivator [167]. Inspite of this oppression the industry flourished. During the period under study the government share was nominally half the crop, but after all the official exactions, the peasant was left with only a quarter of the crop [168]. The Government received its share in cash or oil [169]. The trees were cut for a ready market in France without planting young ones[169a].

Almonds (Amygdalus, Prunus) *Badam* were also found all over the Valley. It was largely cultivated. But very little attention was given to the fruit. Almonds were of two varieties, sweet and bitter [170]. The sweet almonds were considered dry and warm and were used for headaches. Oil was also extracted out of it [171].

Peach (Prunus Persica) *Tsunun* "The peach that has extended its area from cultivation is small but refreshing [172]. The peaches were inferior [173] and of two varieties modur tsunun, the sweet peach, and tyuthsunun, the bitter one [174]. Plums (Prunus Communis, Alubundhara) Ar were grown with wild plums to be the excellent.

Quinces (Pyrus Cydonia) *Bum tsunt* was of two kinds modur and tsok [175]. The fruit ripened in October, which made excellent jam for export to the Punjab [176].

Cheery (Prunus Cerasas) *Gilas* was cultivated in Kashmir. It was of three kinds [177], sweet, sour and bitter. Apricots (Prunus Ameniaca) Tser though imported from Ladakh, still some varieties [178] were produced in the valley with varieties like bota tsera, tsoki tsera moaritsers, tetha tsere, khas tsera gordol. These were quickly eaten or stored away for the winter [179]. Pomegranits (Punice Grabatum) Dan, ripened in September, though it was of inferior quality. It vas used in fevers and debility of the stomach. It was found in several varieties [180].

The state was keeping a record of the production of fruits and of those fruits collected and reserved for the preparation of juices, khameer and oil for the use of the state [181]. But it was in 1851 that government (Gulab Singh) ordered the confiscation of private fruit gardens of apples and pears [182]. So the fruit, which formed the food of the vast population of villages, were also monopolized by the state. Of the fruits three quarter were appropriated by government [183].

Inspite of all the above mentioned agricultural products which were either cultivated by the peasants or grow naturally, the agriculture was declining, owing to the existing system of corruption and exactions. The peasants, even while they worked hard, their hands, which produced gold out of sand, were "spread out asking the alms of life for bare survival" [184]. Inspite of their hard work the peasants [185] could get that much on which a peasant with his family could live only for few months. During the remaining period, they had to live on vegetables, herbs and such other diets.

The 'prosperity or adversity' of people of the valley depended on the natural resources and weather conditions. The 'physiological' factor was responsible for the famines, while the high mountains, and worst conditions of the main routes brought havoc to the people [186]. The famines were caused by early snows or heavy rains at harvest time [187]. There occurred a number of

famines during the period under study. In 1850 two famines came, one was caused by heavy rainfall for eight days and the second due to the untimely snowfall at the harvest time [188]. In 1854 the rainfall damaged the rabi harvest in the lowlying areas and caused flood in the river Jhelum [189], and again in 1855 the snowfall damaged the uncollected harvest [190]. But the most disastrous famine occurred in 1865 and the 'Ghastly' one in 1877-79 [191].

FAMINE OF 1865

The heavy rainfall mixed with the official tyranny was responsible for the calamity of 1865 [192]. There occurred the scarcity of food and resulted in the famine of 1865. During that year there was a splendid crop which was gathered but not calculated and the villagers had to starve for weeks together in the sight of their 'beautiful harvest' and perished due to rains[193]. The hungry people "when dying from scarcity", found a substitute for their usual food in fish, but were punished for eating it for the simple reason that the soul of late Maharaja Gulab Singh had transmigrated into the body of a fish according to the Hindu theory of the transmigration of soul [194]. The persons who violated the law were severely dealt with [195].

The Lt. Governor of the Punjab, over and again reminded the Maharaja to take prompt action and arrange immediate supply of grains. Food grains were imported for distribution among the city people [196]. Diwan Kripa Ram was deputed to Kashmir as Governor, he sold the grains from the state granaries and fixed the weekly rations per family [197]. The Maharaja is said to have imported one thousand Kharwars of wheat from Punjab and sold it at subsidized rates and in some cases free of charges [198]. But the villagers were left to suffer and the distressing news of the famine began to be published in Indian newspapers. The government committed atrocities on the people to suppress the news [199]. The people migrated to plains, Hargopal [200], informed the British Government that in order to stop the Kashmiri

migration nearly one hundred famine striken people were got drowned in the Woler Lake [201]. Fedrick Henry Cooper came to Kashmir to enquire into the matter and even Lord Biship of Calcutta visited Kashmir but Robert Thorp [202] was the man who brought the facts about the persecution of Kashmiris to light as also to the notice of the British Government [203]. There spread discontentment in the Valley owing to the famine and starvation as the government could not import sufficient quantities of food grains. The Zaldagar rising, on April, 29, 1865, was the result of governmental atrocities. In this rising people especially the shawl-bafs died in a large number [204].

FAMINE OF 1877-79:

The dreadful famine of 1877 occurred due to two causes— "early winter and grasping officials" [205]. The origin of the famine lay in the early and untimely rains [206] during the autumn when kharif crop, on which agriculture depended mostly, had ripened, some of it was harvested while some stood still to be reaped, thus the rain caused damage, withered and rottened the standing as well as harvested crops [207]. There was no sunshine to dry wet-paddy sheaves [208]. It became impossible to save the crops or grass for animals and the cattle died for want of fodder. These conditions continued till January, 1878, when in the beginning the hope lay on spring crops, these too got destroyed by wet-weather, fruits and herbs were also damaged.

The calamity unveilled the "glaring defects" of the government[209]. A large quantity of rice would have been saved if the cultivators had been allowed to cut the crops earlier and carry them [209a]. The officials did not measure the crops until they had been paid the bribes while the cultivators were not ready to pay the excessive imposition and the officials would not modify their demands [210], when the whole quantum of rice got destroyed, the government ordered the sale of the state stocks of barley at Rs. 1/4/0- per kharwar to the people but it was bought by the middlemen who sold it at Rs. 19 per kharwar. After the spring of 1878, the government issued an order to make a house to house

search for the seed [211], and the officials seized the grains from whosoever possessed them [212]. The people got so demoralized that they "hid their grain in the dams earth or sunk it in the river"[213]. The heavy rains again destroyed the harvest and fruit trees, when the people were deprived of the fault; they turned to the grasses and roots of the swamps and forests [214], which proved fatal. The famine showed no signs of abatement and kept raging throughout the summer of 1878.

Even the catastraphe could have been avoided but government applied no remedy. The Maharaja was at Jammu and could not receive the correct reports about all the happenings but when he came to know of it he spared no money to prevent the mortality[215] and proposed to import the grain from outside but nature obstructed him from doing so [216]. The scheme of importing the grains from the Punjab for which one lakh of rupees had been deposited in the Sialkot treasury [217], could not be through. The govemment issued the "Irshad" (command) which declared that any importer of grains of a value of rupees 20,000 would be awarded Rs. 1.000/- (500 cash and 500 in kind)[218]. Rates of transport were to be doubled and government appointed contractors, Messrs Thomas Russell and Ram Rattan who were required to deliver fifty thousand maunds each by the 15th of June 1879 [219]. But as the Rabi of 1878 did not seem to relieve the situation and there was no grain now left with the state that could be distributed, the state government distributed Singharas. The grains imported from outside were brought into Kashmir by head-loads costing the government Rs. 15-14 ½ (British coins) it was sold out to the public at Rs. 10 chilki or Rs. 6-4 a kharwar [220]. The government appointed a committee comprising thirteen members with the British Officer on Special Duty for famine relief and distribution of the imported grains [221]. The Maharaja ordered the remission of Traki and such other taxes on the peasants and shawl-bafs and traders [222]. He also

opened the orphan houses, poor houses and the Kharkhanas for the famine striken people to save them from starvation and death[223]. In Srinagar alone 33 poor houses were opened and in the Mufassil (Tehsils) 27, and the total number of people thus relieved was 10,74,235 at a total cost of Rs. 61,610 [224]. But all his measures failed because of the carelessness of the government officials who turned the Maharaja's measures of charity into a source of profit. His orders to give assistance to the people were evaded by the officials whose greed was never so keen as in 1878 [225]. The worst sufferers during the famine were the Muslims who perished while the Hindus were fed out of government store-houses end were less hard hit [226]. The bread riots became common in the city [227]. The city related the story of poverty [228], and a large number of the people were not fed, clothed and housed adequately [229]. The government adopted the shameful measures as drowning of famine-striken people into Wular Lake. These helpless people were caught forcibly, launched in boats and then the boats were emptied in the Wular [230]. A Committee for investigation into the matter was appointed under Mr. Hanoi and Diwan Badri Nath [231], who arrested some of the concerned persons but nothing came out of it. At the end of 1878 the system of Rahdari, under which no man could leave the valley without permission, was given up [232]. The people in groups started fleeing to Punjab out of the fear of being drowned. The people fled to plains "bare footed", ill-clad, and many dying on the way [233]. A large portion of Kashmir population died in the famine [234]. The shawl-weavers were the chief victims of the famine [235]. The dead-bodies were lying in heaps on roadsides, floating in the rivers, unburied and un-wept, prowling dogs were praying on them. People sold their daughters and the terror spread in the country [236]. Both the city and the villages were deserted and left in ruins [237]. Though the people died in large number in Catestrophe, Wazir Panu was harsh on the famine-

stricker people [238]. The country could not recover from this dreadful condition for many years [239]. In 1883 the government of India published certain principles of the famine code and the Maharaja of Kashmir also approved it for application within his territory in future [240].

OTHER NATURAL CALAMITIES

The other calamities like earthquakes, fires, floods and epidemics also caused a great loss to life and property of the people [241]. The earthquakes of which the two severe ones occurred in 1864 and 1885 [242], caused violent shocks, which were felt in an elliptical area in Srinagar and Baramulla [243]. The earthquake of 1885 commenced on May 30, and continued Upto the 16th of August. It brought general panic to all the people, destroyed houses and put 3,500 people to death [244]. Nearly 10,000 houses were destroyed, 40,000 cattle and sheep lost their lives and many towns appeared only as the heaps of ruins [245]. The temples of Patan and the palace of Srinagar suffered in 1885. People recognized the 'presence of destroyer' in the calamity [246]. The villages had been annihilated [247], the villagers kept the temporary Wigwam, ready for the shelter in times of shocks [248].

Cholera

The epidemic of cholera was a frequent visitor to the city [249]. The disease increased with the break down of the valley's isolation and with the commencement of foreign invasions and incursions (of Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs and the Dogras) [250]. These diseases were not attributable to the Valley's climate but to the insanitary conditions of Kashmir [251]. This epidemic brought death and havoc to the people, both in the city and the villages [252]. In 1858 cholera broke out and thousands of people were buried in the graveyards covered with snow [253] and that of 1867 killed thousands of people within four month. The people were subjected to exactions by the government [254] and there was a general condition of neglect, cruelty and rapacity [255]. The

calamity of 1873 was called "Zigar Sokht"[256] the heart burning. Under such conditions the schools, and offices were closed and "the people got into their houses, as they said, waiting to die"[257]. They went only to "Hakim or trust to prayers and incantations of the priests"[258] for their tawiz (piece of paper containing sacred words) and took no precautions.[259]

Floods

In the Valley there occurred floods owing either to the excessive rains or by the breaking or melting of the nose of the glacier that slided into the Valley[260]. There occurred floods in 1865 and 1871[261] which caused enormous damage to the crops. The flood time used to be the harvest time for boatmen ferrying flood-striken people and charged them as much as they could[262].

Fires

Time and again fires broke out in Srinagar where the wooden houses and their roofs caught fire easily and was difficult to control. The people never tried to extinguish the flames[263]. In the villages, the houses were not crowded together and if the fires occurred the damage done was quickly repaired[264]. The fires broke out in 1850, 1875 and 1878 and these were mainly confined to the city[265]. Thus these calamities resulted in the mass-migration, after ban on the movement (Rahdari) of people was lifted. This naturally resulted in a decline in the population and agriculture[266]. These calamities had an adverse effect on the character of the people. There was always a constant fear from the forces of nature, tyranny of the rulers and superstitions[267].

References

1. Approximately more than 81% of the population depended on agriculture for its subsistance. According to the Census of 1871, 81.41% of the people lived in villages who

depended on agriculture. Kashmiris since ancient times depended on agriculture for their livelihood. Kalhana, Rajatarangini, IV-495-translation Stein.

2. Wakefield, *History of Kashmir and the Kashmiri*, P. 135.

3. Arthur Neve, *Tourist's Guide to Kashmir*, P. 1.

4. Sinha, Sachchidananda, *Kashmir the Playground of Asia*, pp. 95-96.

5. E. F. Neve, *Things Seen in Kashmir*, P. 62, Morrison, *A Lonely Summer in Kashmir*, 1971 Compare Randhawa, M.S. and Prem Nath, *Farmers of India*, Vol., P. 253.

6. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P.248.

7. Neve, E.F., *Things seen in Kashmir*, P. 60. Arthur Neve, *Picturesque Kashmir*, P. 60.

8. Ibid., See Also Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 248.

9. Randhawa and Prem Nath, *Farmers of India*, Vol. I, P. 253.

10. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 248. J. Collect, *Guide for Visitors to Kashmir*, P. 17., Pervis Gervis, *This is Kashmir*, P. 91.

11. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit. vol. I, pp. 316-317.

12. Neve, E. F., *Beyond the Pir Panial*, P. 53.

13. Neve, E. F., *Things Seen in Kashmir*, P. 60. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 25.

14. Vigne, *Trevels*, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 316-317.

15. Randhawa and prem Nath, *Farmers of India*, Vol. I, P.253.

16. Ibid., The village Harwan was noted for its natural beauty, Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 25. The villages on the edge of the Dal surrounded by walnut and chinar trees presented an attractive sight, Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit. Vol. II, P. 62. In the village Letipor there were fruit gardens which gave names to some villages as Tserwon (the orchard of apricots) or won (the

archard of plums). The wet villages of Utressu-Umanagri (East of Anantnag) and Pulwama where water was plentiful, were put to rice cultivation, Maden, T.N., *Family and Kinship*, P. 33. The village of Rampur laying between the pine-clad hills and the bright patches of fruit trees was an object of attraction for all, Wadia, *In the Land of Lalla Rukh*, P. 44.

17. Marison, *A Lonely Summer in Kashmir*, P. 77. The author writes "There is far more picturesqueness of structure to be seen here than in an Indian village".

18. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit. Vol. I, P. 316.

19. Moorcroft, *Travels*. Vol. II, P. 235, Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. I, P. 270, Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 161. The villages lying on both the sides of the Jhelum were deserted "with their terraces, all lying waste", Hugel, ,B.C. Kashmir and the Punjab. pp. 181-182. 'The village Kuri though of great beauty, was in ruins Vigne, *Travels*, Op. cit. Vol. I, P. 316. The villages, at Islamabad were in a ruined and neglected appearance, Vigne, op. cit. Vol. I, P.357., and the village Chaugam was in a ruinous condition, Vigne, op. cit. Vol. I, P. 319.,

20. Walter, Del Mar, *The Romantic East-Burma-Assam and Kashmir*, pp. 193-194. Morrison, *A Lonely Summer in Kashmir*, pp. 14 & 143, Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 25, writes, Every time one sees a Kashmiri village and succumbs to the charm of all that nature has done for it, one longs to see the squalor, untidiness, and the dirt of house and man and clothing removed and justice done by man to to what Nature has done for him."

21. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, Dat. Nov., 17, 1849, f. 87 Ibid., Vol. III. dated Oct. 9, 1850, f.123. See also Arthur Brinkman, *The Wrongs of Kashmir*, Op. cit. pp. 15 & 24.

22. Lokaprakasa, Ind. *Studies XVIII*, P. 375. Cit. Stein. *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*. op. cit. P.137, points out the number of villages in the Valley as 66,063, although Stein himself calls it as an exaggeration, he had quoted Sharif-ud-Din Whose information (1400 A.D.) is considered an accurate record, "It is popularly believed that in the whole of the province

plains and mountains together are comprised of 1000,000 villages. The land is thickly inhabited". It has been reproduced by *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, P.430 without any modification. Khawaja Mohamad Azam Didamari gives the number of villages under the Sikhs as 3279 while *Tarikh-i-Kalan*, P. 225, gives their number as 2862. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 225 gives the number of villages as 2870.,

23. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 239.

24. Dr. Sinha, *Kashmir-the playground of Asia*, P. 127.

25. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 319. See also Younghusband, *Kashmir*, pp. 204-205. The new alluvial soil was found in the bays and deltas of the mountain rivers and the old alluvial above the banks of the Jhelum river which extended as far as the karewa. Lord Roberts, *Forty-One Years in India*. Vol. I, P. 40. The author writes about the new alluvial soil in 1854 that "the soil is extremely productive, anything will grow in it.Put a stick into the ground, and in an extraordinary short space of time it becomes a tree and bears fruit. The new alluvial formed the flat basin of the river of Jhelum and its tributaries, found on the bays and deltas of the mountain rivers enriched by the silt of the mountain streams. This soil was generally under rice cultivation". E. F. Neve, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, pp. 19-20 and 37-38.

26. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 319. The plateau is called Udar in Kashmiri, found in its Sanskrit form as Udhara in the chronicles and "it is found twice in the *Rajatarangini*. The modern designation of Persian origin now often used is karewa. Stein, *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, pp. 117-118.

27. Ibid., Wadia, *Geology of India*, P. 380.

28.Morrison, *A Lonely Summer in Kashmir*, P. 65. J. Collet, *Guide For Visitors to Kashmir*, P. 13. The upper karewas fine claying and sandy deposits-lead to the explanation that Kashmir was formerly occupied by the vast lake of which the existing lakes are remnants.

29. Stein, *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, P. 118. Vigne,

Travels, op. cit. Vol. I. P. 277.,

30. Richard Temple, *Journals*, op. cit. pp. 41-42, Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 320.

31. Ibid.,

32. Wingate, *Preliminary Report on Settlement operations*, pp.11-12.

33. Ibid., Also compare Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. vol. I, pp. 11-12.

34. Ibid.,

35. Ibid., Khasta, Hargopal Koul. *Guldest-i-Kashmir*, pp. 59-62.

36. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 319-321. Karewas were mostly the part of Gurtu. The varieties of this kind of soil were distinguished by colour. The most fertile was the dark, blackish soil known as Surh-Zamin, the red Gurtu was the next best, while the yellow-buff soil was the worst of all.

37. Ibid.,

38. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 321.

39. Ibid., Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 52. The author with reference to the use of manure in Kashmir quotes Dr. Elmislie ".....the manure is first dried and then burned and the ashes scattered over the fields. The ordur of oxen (guh) is used for manuring the cereals, while human ordur (pah) is employed for manuring vegetables. Besides, the usual dressing of manure, fresh earth is frequently spread-over the fields".

40. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 322. The author writes "In the villages where there is no irrigation stream one sometimes finds latrines, and the night-soil is used in garden cultivation. In other villages land surrounding the cottages shows unmistakable signs that man gives back to the soil what he has taken from it".

41. In ancient times, in the ninth century A.D., during the reign of Avantivarman, Suya is said to have built stone-embankments to hold up water, in a very curious and interesting

manner. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*. Vol. I, Book, V, Verse 359.

42. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 323. The author writes that "the villagers always speak of the mountains as their treasuries, and in a year of good snowfall the treasuries are full". Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. 1, Op. cit. pp. 106-120.

43. *Punjab Administrative Report-1878-79*, Cit. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 460.

44. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*. P. 323, Lawrence writes "In former days, when the state took a share of the crop, it was to the interest of the Darbar to look after irrigation and to assist in repairs. But since in 1880, when the State tried to introduce a fixed assessment, the villagers have had to look after the repairs themselves, and when the channel passes through difficult ground the irrigation has become very uncertain. In old days over every main channel there was a Mirab—one of the villagers—whose duty was to see to repair and to call out labour. These Mirabs had not received pay for years, and the channels had fallen into great disorder, but the useful office of Mirabs has now been revived".

45. Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol.I, op. cit. pp.120-138, The author gives the names and location of some fifty-nine springs which formed the sources of water. These were, Vernag, Achhbal, Nachh Bawan, Anantnag, Lok Bawan, Kukarnag, Panzatnag, Wasaknag, Pahlunag, Ruzlu Spring, Maliknag, Vethwatru Spring, Kanu Spring, Sand Barari, Pavarah Sind, Ludrah Sind, Gangah Brari, Haldar, Hihmal Spring, Nag Arjun, Pohah Haran, Arpalanag, Mahapadma Nag, Zewan, Karmeshwar, Narayan Nag, Ayn Al-ufunat, Totdan, Gupta Ganga, Vichar Nag, Khir Bhawani, Watr Gang, Shangah Pal, Pachh Nag, Papchhan, Chakri Shor, Zili Shor, Anantnag (Parganah Ziinagir), Lachhman Tirath, Harnag, Shivah Nag, Shomah Nag, Zitishah, Manzhor, Naran Nag, Burar Nag, Said Ganga, Ramkund, Sitakund-Lachhmankund-Hanumankund, Gautam Rishi Nag, Chashma Shahi, Nilah Nag, Kepal Muchan, Sukh Nag, Kother Nag, Shamar Hal, Ayn-ul-ufunet.

46. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 323.

47. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 138-152, The author, gives the names of some rivers as Sandian, Bringi river, Arah Pati, Lidar or Lambudari, Vishau river, Ranbi Arah, Ramshi, Tolah Barin river, Dudhganga river, Ahech river, Kanihamah river, Mingal river, Harwan river, Amravati, Krankah Nadi, Sindlar, Irini river, Madmati, Nalah-i-Puhru, Krishnah Ganga, Kuth Kul, Sonar Kul, Shadipur Nalah.

48. Neve, E. F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, pp. 56-57.

49. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 325, The mortar is made of a hallowed-out bole of wood. The pestle is made of light hard wood, and the best and hardest of woods for purpose is the hawthorn".

50. Ibid.,

51. Ibid.,

52. Lawrence, *The valley of Kashmir*, P. 326, "A general idea of the cultivator's work may be obtained from the following calendars:-

Marh & April	____	Plough & manure for rice, plough for maize and other autumn crops.
April & May	____	Sowing of rice, maize and other crops
May & June	____	Sowing of rice, maize and other crops & plant out rice seedlings.
June & July	____	Harvested wheat and barley
July & August	____	Weeding of rice, maize and cotton and harvest line-seed.
Aug. & Sept.	____	-do- and commence picking cotton.

Sept., & October	____	Harvested rice & maize & other autumn crops. If rains were timely, ploughing for wheat and barley and sowing of wheat, barley and rape-seed was undertaken, willows for sheep fodder were cut.
Oct. November	____	Harvested rice for first half of Oct. ploughing for wheat and barley was carried out.
Nov. & December	____	Ploughing for wheat & barley undertaken.
Dec. & January	____	Threshing rice and maize, and other autumn crops. Attended to sheep cattle, and wove woolen blankets.
Jan. & February	____	-do-
Feb. & March	____	-do-

53. Neve, E. F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, pp. 59-65. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 326.

54. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 205. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 309. Wingate, op. cit. P. 4. Moorcroft, *Travels*, op. cit. P. 133.

55. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 332. The author writes, "there is an old proverb in Kashmir, "Ya kezan ya Dazan", which means that for rice cultivation the land should be absolutely wet or absolutely dry".

56. Neve E. F., *Things Seen in Kashmir*, P. 59, P. Gervis, *This is Kashmir*, .P. 62.

57. Wingate, op. cit. pp. 14-15, Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, PP. 327-328 Lawrence writes, "It is not merely weeding, it is standing in the mud and water on all fours, with a burning sun above and cold water below, scuffling with the mud, and kneadling it as a baker kneads flour. It is placing the rice plants in their right places, and pressing the soft mud greatly around the green seedlings".

59. Wingate, op. cit. p. 15, Neve, E. F., Beyond the Pir Panjal p. 60.

60. Madan, *Family and Kinship*, P.35.

61. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 336.

62. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 309.

63. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 329, Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 172.

64. Ibid.,

65. Ibid.,

66. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 37.

67. Vigne, *Travels*, Op. cit. Vol. I, P. 308, During the Mughal rule only Lachibal (a variety of rice) was produced, not less than 60 lakh kharwars. But the quantity of produce decreased with the succeeding regimes of Afghans, Sikhs and the Dogra's. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II, op. ,cit. P. 135.

68. Jalali, *Economics of Food Grains*, pp. 47-48.

69. Ganeshi-Lal, op. cit. p. 32.

70. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P.332, The author found in only one tehsil fifty-three varieties of it. But rice could mainly be divided into two categories red and white, the white being more esteemed and the former considered poor. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*. P. 59. Hassan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. I. P. 185 mentions 96 varieties of rice. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 51, Dr. Elmislie enumerates following varieties, *Safed Danyi, Zeg Danyi, Larbyol Danyi Roban Danyi, Kathechhan Danyi Buthibrar Danyi, Mushkabbudij Danyi, Sokhdas Danyi, Wulag Danyi, Braz Danyi, Yimbirzal Danyi,*

Kunyi Danyi, Basmati Danyi, Choqul Danyi. (Danyi being the Kashmiri name for Paddy).

71. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* pp. 332-333, Lawrence has recorded a rhyme of a Kashmiri epicure which selected Nipur near Islamabad as the place for good rice:

Kashmiri Language		**English Language**
Mung as Khanpur	____	Pulse from Khanpur
Rogan as Lalipur	____	Ghi from Lalipur
Sag as Rampur	____	Vegetables from Pampur
Shir as Hirpur	____	Milk from Hirpur
Brinj as Nipur	____	Rice from Nipur
Bara as Nandpur	____	Sheep from Nandpur
Dach as Raipur	____	Grapes from Raipur

72. *Kashmir and Ladakh Gazetteer,* P. 60.

73. Neve, E. F., *Things seen in Kashmir,* p. 59.

74. Jalali, Economics of Food Grains, pp. 56-57.

75. Vigne, *Travels,* op. cit. Vol. I, P. 308.

76. The government scale of weights used in the collection of produce was like this:-

6 seers	---------	1 Trak
16 Traks	---------	1 Kharwar

but in selling the grain to the people afterwards the scale was:

6 seers	---------	1 Trak
15 Traks	---------	1 Kharwar

Thus government gained one trak in every kharwar. Robert Throp, *Kashmir Misgovernment,* op. cit. P. 53. See also Chapter or weights and measures, pp.

77. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* PP., 336-337.

78. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* pp. 61-62, Younghusband, *Kashmir,* P. 200.

79. These were white and red, the former was sown alongwith the rice, was soft, grown in naturally manured homestead fields while the latter was sweet and preferred by the Kashmiris to the white maize. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 336.

80. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 200. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 62.

81. Moorcroft, *Travels*, op. cit. Vol. II, P. 154. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, PP. 340-341.

82. Moorcroft,. *Travels*, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 154-155.

83. Wingate, op. cit. P. 65.

84. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P 341.

85. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 311-312.

86. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated March 1850, f. 31. Ibid., Vol. II, dated Feb., 1849, ff. 41a-b.

87. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, PP. 339-340.

88. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 201.

89. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 338. Ganesh-i-Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, PP. 97-98. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 61.

90. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. I, P. 187. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 339.

91. Ibid.,

92. Pithawala, *An Introduction to Kashmir*, op. cit. P. 92.

93. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 340.

94. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 46.

95. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated Feb. 1849, & ff. 41-42. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 340. There were in Kashmir the tehils oil-pressers who obtained oil from the seeds. They operated their oil press with a single bullock. The oil press was made of plane-wood.

96. Hassan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. I. P. 186.

97. Lawrence, *The valley of Kashmir*, P. 339.

98. Ibid.,

99. Ibid., See also, *Kashmir and Ladakh Gazetteer*, P. 63.

100. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 186.

101. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 338. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 202.

102. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 341, Hasan, *Tarikh* op. cit. Vol. I, P. 185.

103. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 61.

104. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 340, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, pp. 60-61.

105. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, pp. 60-61.

106. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 201.

107. Kelhana, *Rajatarangini*, Book I, verse 42, Vol. I. The legend is that during the reign of Lalitaditya there was a physician in Padampur (Pampur) who tried in vain to cure a Nag's eye, who had come to him for treatment. Discovering that the patient was a Nag, the physician restored him to health by binding his eyes with a cloth. Thus in his gratitude the Nag gave the physician a bulb of saffron whose cultivation flourished in Pampur.

108. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, P. 357 (Tr. Jarret).

109. Vigne, *Travels*, op. C it. Vol. II, P. 33. Genesh-i-Lal, op. cit. P. 38.

110. Lawrence,. The Valley of Kashmir., P. 343, Abul Fazl, Ain-I-Akbari. p. 358. (Tr. Jarret.)

111. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 344.

112. Arora, *In The Land of Kashmir, Ladakh*, P. 62.

113. P. Gervis, *This is Kashmir*, P. 129.

114. Ibid., pp. 130-131, we have reference that Gulab Singh used these flowers in daily Puja. See Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IV, dated October 26, 1851, f. III, Vol., XII, dated August

10, 1860, ff. 64, 67. Compare also, Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 342.

115. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* P. 44.

116. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 343-344, The author writes "... the system of collection by farmers will prevent the industry from becoming popular, as during the harvest time the cultivators are as carefully watched and supervised as diamond diggers at Kimberley. In former days men came from all parts of Kashmir to cultivate saffron on the Pampur karewas, but now, with the exception of a few men from, Srinagar, the cultivation is in the hands of local men". Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. VIII, dated Feb., 28, 1855, f. 28. See also File No: 179/1907 (Pol.& Gen.).

117. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 344.

118. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. III, dated Oct., 31, 1850, f.138; Also Vol. VIII, dated Feb.,23, 1855, f. 28.

119. Ibid., Vol. III dated March, 1850, f.33.

120. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 344.

121. Moorcroft, *Travels,* op. cit. Vol. II, P. 137, The author writes "In the autumn, after the plate. of the leaf has begun to decay, this has acquired maturity and being boiled till tender, furnishes a wholesome and nutritious article, which supports, perhaps five thousand persons in the city for nearly eight months.

122. Moorcroft, *Travels,* op. cit. Vol. I. P. 136, It resembles the head of an ox, in miniature and ripens in October. John Collet, *Guide For Visitors to Kashmir,* P. 18

123. Ibid., The Hindu inhabitants considered this nut a great blessing and attributed its introduction to Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity.

124. Wakefield, *Kashmir and the Kashmiris,* pp. 154-155, Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. f. 44, dated Feb., 6, 1857.

125. Taylor, *Diary,* 28th June to 3rd July, 1847, P. 94.

126. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. XII, f. 69, Aug.17, 1860.

127. Ibid., f. 95, dated May 3rd, 1857.

128. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 345.

129. Ibid., P. 344, See also Ayneslay, *Our Visits to Hindustan*, P. 83, "A long kind of rush, which grows in great abundance is cut off just below the surface of the water, on these stalks, When laid flat and pressed somewhat closer together, reeds and seges are put, and mud piled, which sinks into the mass of matted roots, long stakes are then driven into the ground beneath to keep the whole in place". Robert, *Forty one years in India*, P.39.

130. Ayneslay, *Our Visits to Hindustan*, P.83. The author writes that since it was the moveable property of the peasants, it was liable to theft and it was also impossible to identify the property or detect the theft.

131. Vinge, *Travels*, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 90-91. Campare also Arora, *In the Land of Kashmir*, op. cit. P. 60.

132. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 346. Moorcroft, *Travels*, op. cit. Vol. II, P. 08, writes that the climate of the Valley is more favourable to vegetable production than to the plant life and continues that "An accomplished naturalist Dr. Royle, remarks of the character of vegetation that, there is so great an extension of the herbaceous parts, as well as of the flowers of the plants that many of them rival in luxuriance, these of tropical climates. See also Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P.40.

133. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. pp. 171-180, contains a large list of various vegetable productions, wild herbs and cultivated ones.

134. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 347, Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, pp. 14-15, The author writes about it as "In any feast, however, great the number of dishes and water delicacies of chiken mutton or beaf and, however, over-powering the appetite, a Kashmiri will instinctly first stretch out his hands towards the Kremihok if it were available. He cannot help, it is a part of his life, as inseparable from him as his very soul".

135. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 347. *Gazetteer*

Kashmir and Ladakh, P. 67. The best quality being produced at Haripur.

136. Moorcroft, *Travels,* op. cit. Vol II, P. 144.

137. Pithawalia, *An Introduction to Kashmir,* P. 92. Younghusband, *Kashmir,* P. 203.

138. *Kashmir and Ladakh Gazetteer,* P. 67.

139. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 347.

140. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 45. The Hindus would not eat it because of its aphrodisiac effects which they did not wish to experience as they had given themselves to the worship of God.

141. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 347. The author writes about the wild herbs eaten by Kashmiris "....in fact, every plant which is not poisonous, goes into the cooking pot, and even the stalks of the walnut. Catkin is not despired. In the hills a dainty dish of the wild asparagus can be easily obtained, and the wild rhubarb cooked in honey has its charms. When one hears of the old saints of Kashmir who lived on the wild wopalhak (Dipsacus inermis) and the herbs of the forest, one need not picture an emaciated ascetic, for a man could live and live well on nature's product in Kashmir.

142. Wakefield, *Kashmir and Kashmiris,* P. 45.

143. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P.348.

144. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. III. f. 30 dated March, 1850.

145. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade,* P. 56.

146. Neve E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal,* pp.60-61.

147. Vigne, *Travels,* op. cit. Vol. II. P. 87.

148. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* pp. 196-197.

149. Younghusband, *Kashmir,* pp. 196-197. Arora, In the Land of Kashmir, Ladakh and Gilgit, P. 262 has mentioned 100 varieties of this fruit. Hasan, *Tarikh,* op. cit., P. 183. says that there were more than 47 varieties of this fruit all over the Valley.

While Girldstone in 1871, cited Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, P. 14., has classified the fruits and refers that there were 28 kinds of apple in the Valley. Among the remarkable varieties of apples were ambir tsunt, kudu-seritsunt, sefrkund tsunt, Siltrat tsunt, Nabid tral tsunt, Tsuk tsunt, Tetshekur and Balapur. Ambir tsunt was the best of all and largely exported. It had a handsome appearance. The tral being the best so far as its flavour of apple was concerned which had three varieties the best was khatoni trel. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 349-350.

150. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit., vol., I, P. 183.

151. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh*, P. 48., The following varieties of it were remarkable: Goshibug, Nak, Koternul, Harnak, while Elmslie mentions among its kinds Tsoktang, Madertung, Khartanq, Sihratanq, Arora, *In the Land of Kashmir, Ladakh & Gilgit*, P. 282.

152. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 199. Cit. Gladstone.

153. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh*, pp.45-46.

154. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 348.

155. Rajatarangini, Book. I. Vol. I. Verse 42, p.

156. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 322. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 151.

157. Administrative Report of 1882-83. pp. 96-97.

158. Ibid. pp. 98-99.

159. Nargis, Narsingh Dass, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Desh*, P. 681.

160. A. R. of 1882-83. PP. 29-30.

161. Ibid. PP. 96-97.

162. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 150, has mentioned 18 to 29 varieties of grapes, while Girdlestone in 1871 (Saraf p. 14), has given 20 varieties. Elmslie (Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh, PP. 50-51) gives the varieties as Kashmiri dach, Krihun dach or Kawir dach, apeiman duch, dun dach, hasain dach, kava dach. The first third and fifth being the finest of all.

163. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 351.

164. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh*, P. 46.

165. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 354.

166. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 352.

167. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 148.

168. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh*, P. 46.

169. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 353.

169. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh*, P. 113.

170. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 354. Gridlestone (Saraf, P. 14) has given 23 varieties of almonds.

171. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh*, P, 50.

172. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P.348.

173. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit. Vol: II, P. 86-87.

174. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh*, P. 49. Girdlestone gives 26 varieties of peaches. Cit. Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, P. 14.

175. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. I, P. 184.

176. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 198.

177. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. I. P. 184.

178. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 46.

179. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, P. 348.

180. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. I. P. 184.

181. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. III. f. 30 dated March, 1850.

182. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IV, f. 88 dated September, 1851.

183. If a villager plants tree, it is immediately claimed by the government, in consequence of which scarcely a young fruit-tree is to be found in the Valley, except in the government gardens. If this should continue It Is obvious that the fruit supply of the Valley must very seriously diminish as the old tree died off or are cut down. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh*, P. 113.

184. Mohd Sayeed Masudi, Foreward to Mirza Mohd Afzal

Beg, *On the Way to Golden Harvest*. P. 1.

185. Ibid.,

186. Compare. Parmu, *A History of Sikh Rule in Kashmir*. P. 286. Also see Jalali, Economics of Food-grains in Kashmir. P. 58. The routes were in a bad condition for the horses, mules, camels and men to pass, (i) Murree- Baramulla route, ii. Banihal-Jammu route, (iii) Bhimber-Thanna, Shupian Mughal route.

187. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 213.

188. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated October 11, 1850, f. 125, dated Nov., 25, 1850, f. 150.

189. Ibid., Vol. VII, dated April 6, 1854, ff. 91-92.

190. Ibid., Vol. VIII, dated October 28, 1855, f. 128.

191. P. Gervis, *This is Kashmir*, P. 303. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 213.

192. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. II, P. 846, It so happened that Pandit Mahanand, Son of Ganesh Pandit approached the Maharaja and submitted a complaint against Wazir Punoo, that latter the outgoing Governor, had intentionally destroyed the grains to the tune of sixty thousand kharwars which were lying in villages.

193. Arthur Brinkman, *The Wrongs of Kashmir*, op. cit. p. 30.

194. Torrens, *Trevels*, op. cit. pp. 317-318, Torrens who visited Srinagar those days, writes: "Gulab Singh, instead of becoming a mistle-toe, as he richly deserved, was turned after death into a bee, so said the Pundits, a decree went forth in consequence throughout the length and breadth of the land, that bees were henceforth sacred and must not be destroyed (whether the eating of honey was also forbidden, I am not prepared to say). But this bee, though endowed with the soul of the deceased monarch, lacked his wasy shrewdness for one hot summer's day. When buzzling languidly on the surface of a cool stream, he was snapped up by a hungry fish poor insect Jonah. But the soul of the Ghoolab could not die, and therefore, now inhabited a sealy tenement. The Maharaja's papa was a fish! The result of this vile

priestly fabrication was the prohibition of fish as food; for the pious son was fearful lest same irreverent Moslem hook will sacrilegious bait, should lure his royal fish. "Great Ghoolab's self now turned to fish,

"Might haply form a dainty fish,
For fisherman or boy."

a catastrophe that would sadly interfere with the future transmigrations of that restless spirit. Fancy the orthodox soul of a deceased Maharaja dwelling in a heretic body of a Mohammadan fisherman. What would become of the Moslem's soul? Would it object to the intrusion, or fraternize and amalgamate with the new comer? It is a difficult question, and one which I suppose puzzled the pandits, so they decided on preventing the possibility of their having ever to answer it, and thenceforth it was not lawful to eat fish".

195. Brinkman, The Wrongs of Kashmir, op. cit. p. 30. The author writes "An English Officer, passed up to Jhelum in his boat during one of these years of famine, observed three half-starved natives chained naked on the bank of the river at a desolate spot, many miles from any habitation. Each of them wore a necklace of strinking fish, and had been left thus for three days and three nights already without food or drink. What was their offence? They had been d rive by hunger to catch a few fish, in defiance of interdict and had been found out".

196. Murasilla, Dated 26 Baisakh, 1924 S, f. 306/1922 S (KGR).

197. Hasan, *Tarikh,* op. cit., Vol. II, P. 947.

198. Ibid.,

199. F/432(P.R) (K.G.R), Due to starvation the people sold the timber of their house to purchase the food. Khanyari, op. cit. f. 211, writes:-

"اہلِ شہر خراب و فرار شدند خانہ ہا فرود کردند، چوب و چکل را بہای قلیلی فروختند"۔

200. Hargopal, The author of the work *Guldast-i-Kashmir*

201. *Tarikh-i-Kabir* (P.M.S) (R.P.D). f. 116b-117b, Vol. II

202. Robert Thorp entered Kashmir and took keen interest in the "sorrows of the Kashmiris under maladministration". He was deeply moved and wrote about the persecution of the people by the officials to the British Government and also to the press. As a result, he was ordered to leave the country, but he refused. "he was bound to his bed and carried towards the pass by sepoys. He, however, managed to escape and returned to Srinagar, but it was of no avail, for, next morning he died of poison after his breakfast". Biscoe, Kashmir in Sunlight and shade, pp. 234-239. See also Rashid Taseer, *Tarikh-i-Huriyat-i-Kashmir*, p. 54. He is buried at Sheikh Bagh, Srinagar, and his grave carries the following epitaph. "Robert Thorp, Aged 30 years, OBIT Nov., 23, 1868. He died for Kashmir".

203. Miskeen, Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, f. See also Khanyari, *Wazij-ut-Tarawarikh* (MS), f. 213.

204. Ibid., P. 201. Further details of the rising are discussed in chapter

205. Biscoe, *Kashmir In sunlight and shade*, P. 241. See also Hasan, Tarikh, Vol. II, op. cit. p. 862, author gives the date of the calamity in Abjad valuing 1877.

206. Ishwar Koul, *Durbhiksatarodayastam*, verse 63-64 and 166-167-168-69 (Sanskrit), MS 854, (RPD)

207. *Majmua-i-Report* on the Administration of Jammu and Kashmir for (S. 1935-1936), 1879-1880, p. 35.

208. E. F. Neve, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 264.

209. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 163. The author writes "the test of this great clamity showed bare the glaring defects of the system the present dynasty had taken over from their uncultured predecessors, and which in their thirty years' possession of the Valley they had not been able to eradicate. Ishwar Koul, *Durbhiksha*, op. cit. Verses, 177-181. The officials forcibly though collected some crops but gave only half to the

government and kept the other half to themselves.

209a. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 214.

210. Biscoe, op. cit. P. 241.

211. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 217. "Among other lessons to be learnt from the famine of 1878, is that it fated to issue an order for the searching of houses, and on the numerous conversations which I have had with all classes of Kashmiris, I have always been impressed with the stress which they lay on the fact that the searching of houses for grain, in the spring of 1878, was the chief cause of scarcity deepening into famine". See Neve, Beyond the Pir Penjal, pp. 264-265. See also Ishwar Kaul, Durbhiksa, op. cit. Verses, 206.

212. Ansley, *Our Visits*, op. cit., P. 291., Mrs Ansley writes, "...ascertaining how much grain each man possessed, they seized it, paying the normal price, the people having afterwards to buy back from them as much grain as they could afford to take (which was barely enough to support) life, at the rate of 20 seers or 40 Lbs. to the rupees, a rate which would probably average nearly three times the price which these poor people had been paid for the grain thus forcibly taken from them".

213. Lawrence, *The valley of Kashmir*, P. 214.

214. Neve E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 265. "Oil cake, rice Chaff, the bark of the elm and yew, and even grass and roots were eagerly devoured by the starving people, who became so much demoralized that each was like a ravenous beast, struggling for his own life".

215. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 215., See also Hasan, Tarikh, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 464-465.

216. *Majmua-i-Report*, 1878-80 op. cit. pp. 38-39.

217. Ibid., P. 39, It is said that at the instance of the Punjab government, it was decided to import 2 lakh maunds of grain-one lakh through the Punjab government, and the remaining one lakh to be arranged for by the state government, the charges for the former being paid by the state.

218. Majmua-I-Report of 1879-80, pp. 45-46.

219. Ibid., PP. 55-56.

220. Ibid.,

221. Ibid., pp. 69-73.

1.	Weight of grain delivered in Kashmir	-- 1,95,714 Mds
2.	Cost of grain	-- 17,01,368 Rs.
3.	Transport etc.	-- 12,30,038 "
4.	Custom Duty (remitted)	-- 1,06,335 "
5.	Reward to Traders	-- 5,250 "
6.	Pay to the Establishment deputed for grain arrangement	-- 5,88,000 "
7.	Miscellaneous expenses.	-- 62,500 "
	Total (spent on grain)	-- 36,93,481

222. The exemptions and remissions made by the Maharaja were as under:

1.	Remission of Traki	-- 209,000 Rs
2.	Remission of Tax on Dagh-i-Shawl	-- 496, 000 "
3.	Remission of tax on traders and other occupations.	-- 77,152 "
4.	Remission of Zar-i-Nikab	-- 20,663 "

Majmua-i-Report, 1878-80, P. 121.

223. Ibid., pp. 128-131, for the maintenance of orphans and the poor the state spent Rs. 88,145-15-3 and on relief works a total of Rs. 1,95,487-9-6 was spent in giving wages.

224. Ibid.,

225. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 216. See also *Census of India, 1901, Part I*, Kashmir, Khan Bahadur Munshi-Ahmad khan, P. 21.

226. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 241.

227. Salf-ullah Mir, *Tarikh-Nama Kashmir*, Trans. Ibn-i-Mahjoor, pp. 98,89-90, Knight, *Where three Empires Meet*, P. 43., E. F. Neve, *Beyond the Pir Panjal* pp. 265-66. The author has quoted Mr. Wade who writes about 1878, "Today I have ridden through a great part of the city, and I saw a large number of persons, especially children and women, whom death certainly has marked for his own very shortly. A half-dozen times I tried to buy and distribute some Kulchas - small cakes made of the flour of Indian corn, rice or wheat and was as often mobbed. Poor children crept from underneath the verandah boards of closed shops, and others from holes and corners that pariah dogs generally occupy, and surrounded my pony. Parda women and apparently most respectable men, stopped and begged and struggled for a piece of bread. I found it impossible to keep the people from thronging me or to maintain aything like order. Directly I obtained Kulchas, the hungry pressed upon me, the stronger pushing aside the weaker, and all reaching forth their hands, and begging or screaming, they lay hold of my coat. They took breed out of my pockets. Two men with baskets of bread, from whom I attempted to purchase some, were beseeged and their bread speedily seized and eaten. After having paid for the bread, I made my escape by riding as fast as I could away from the hungry crowd". Ishwar Kaul, *Durbhiksha*, op. cit., Verse 318, The people ate rates; the poet satirically points out that the houses became empty from rates.

228. Neve, E. F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 31, Bates, op. cit., P. 17 Ganesh Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 32.

229. File No. 138-L(R.R), File No. I5/1846(J.K.A.). Also see Ishwar Koul, *Durbhiksa*, op. cit. Verses, 309-320.

230. Neve, A., *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, pp. 30-31.Mrs. Anesley, *Our Visits*, op. cit. pp. 292-93. F.N.I, The author writes "... accounts of even worse atrocities in Kashmir have appeared in the newspapers. Whole boat loads of starving people have been conveyed by the Maharaja's officials to the Woolar lake, and there drowned. One man had strength to swim to shore, and informed an English man. This man soon afterwards died by

poison. How long how long: When will the Supreme Power rouse itself, which from the Himalayan Olympus dispassionately surveys the continent of India balancing in equal scales the legal privileges of the few and the natural rights of millions?".

231. Haorgopal, *Khasta*, op. cit. P. 224.

232. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 215. See Saref, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, P. 297. The author writes "The lifting of the ban witnessed a stampade, it appeared as if a bund had suddenly collapsed for a sea of humanity, drawn from every town and village was moving towards the snow-clad passes, on their way to the land of hope- the British India".

233. Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, pp. 298-299, The author has described the scene of the migrating people, as "a mass of humanity thus suddenly moving towards the Punjab under great weights of emotions on account of having forced to turn their backs towards their hearths and homes, with their little belongings on their heads, the heart-breaking cries of the old, infirm and women on account of hunger, heat, cold and illness, a great majority almost dragging their wearied feet, and above all, hundreds of hungry babies in each Caravan, having over their backs or sucking the milkless, long-dried breasts of their mothers. Thousands must have died on their way and though buried on the way side, some must have naturally fallen prey to vultures and beasts that frequented the route. Their agonies did not spare them even after death.

See Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1909, Jammu and Kashmir. The Punjab Census of 1891 records that 1,11,775 Muslims born in Kashmir were settled in punjab and others in various other part of India.

234. Though nothing can be said about the exact number of the people who died due to famine. Stein, *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, P. 136, Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 224 writes that Dr. Elmslie who happened to be in the Valley for six years estimated the city population as 1,27,400 out of this

number the famine removed 67,400 persons while in the villages out of a total Population of 2,75,300 famine removed 1,74,200. Thus about 3/5 of the Kashmir population was effected by the catestrophe- See Punjab Administrative Report, 1878-79, pp.2-3.

235. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 224. The author writes, "It is sited on the authority of a French shawl merchant. long resident in Srinagar, that whereas in former times there were from 30,000 to 40,000 weavers in Srinagar only 4,000 remained after the famine." Khalil Mirjanpuri, op. cit. II, P. 314.

236. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 215. "…. awful sign of demoralization and helplessness, manifested by the non-burial of corpses, appeared, wells and holes were choked with bodies, and prowling dogs began to pray on human carcasses. The Gujaras of the mountains were the heaviest sufferers, and many orphan girls were sold to the city Amils. Terror spread through the country, and men never thought of sharing their scanty stock of food with their relations, but greedy devoured all they could lay hands on".

Neve, E.F. *Beyond the Pir Panjal,* P. 265, The author writes, "The corpses of those who had perished were left dying or hastily dragged to the nearest well or hole, until these became choked with dead bodies. Dogs wandered about in troops preying upon the unburial carcasses".

237. Younghusband, *Kashmir,* pp. 162-163, The author writes that, "some suburbs of Srinagar were tenantless, and the city itself was half destroyed". Trade almost came to a stand-still. In consequence, "Employment was difficult to obtain".

238. Hasan, *Tarikh,* op. cit. Vol. II, P. 863, The author writes that Wazir panu was told by some person in the Durbar about the deserted condition of the valley but the Wazir wished the Valley to be turned into ashes:-

"مردمان این دیار را قضا از حق بود لیکن تیغ ظلم وزیر ہزاران از جان
درگذشتند۔ روزی زمین داراز تا راج اشرار درپیش وزیر استغاثہ
کردند، وزیر گفت بر دید این وقت مہاراج دراچھبل نشستہ است۔
شاراوارسی خواہد کرد۔ روزی در مجلس او شخصی می گفت کہ الحال ملک کشمیر
خرابست، وزیر گفت ہنوز خراب نیست دِل من میخواہد کہ ازین جاتا
رام بن اخگر امکان نشود۔"

239. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 213. The author writes "that years have now passed since the last famine, but the Kashmir proverb Drag Tsalih ta dag Tsalih na which means that "the famine goes but its strains remain", is true in all senses, and the country has not yet removed from the awful visitation of 1877".

240. F. No: 1/883 (J.G.R.) (Gen. & Poll).

241. Walter, Del Mar, *The Romantic East*, op. cit. P. 180.

242. Koul, P. A., *Geography of Jammu and Kashmir State*, pp. 118-119, There occurred three earthquakes during the period under review in 1863, 1878 and 1885. See also Hasan, Tarikh, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 471-472.

243. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 212. The author writes about Patan, "a village which lies about halfway between Srinagar and Baramulla. It has a population of about 165 families. In 1885 seventy persons perished in the earthquake. In 1892 fifty-five persons were carried of, by cholera. This is a terrible record for seven years, but it is by no means an unusual record in Kashmir".

244. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 213. See P. Gervis, *This is Kashmir*, P. 302. 245. Neve, E. F., Beyond the Pir Panjal, P. 270, Only in Baramulla 80% of the houses were destroyed "Baramulla and Patan seem to have suffered the most, large earth fissures were caused, from which it is reported that sulphur fumes and inflammable gases were emitted. Many old water-springs disappeared and landslips occurred, one of which, at Lari Dura in the Krohrin Tahsil, revealed fossil singhara nuts at an elevation of about 1,500 feet above the level of the Wular Lake". See Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 213.

246. Vinge, *Travels*, op. cit. Vol. I, P. 56.

247. Neve, *Picturesque Kashmir*, P. 99.

248. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 213.

249. Mir Saif-Ullah, *Tarikh Nama Kashmir*, P. 83.

250. Koul, P.A., *Geography of Jammu and Kashmir*, PP. 133-134. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 218. The author gives the date of the first outbreak of cholera in 1598, as before this disease was unknown or "was known by a name different to that now used "Waba".

251. The evils of the Valley were the insanitary canals, over crowded burial grounds, unclean slaughter houses, dirty cow sheds and thousands of pariah dogs, starving donkeys and cows lived on this filth. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and shade*, P.125. Neve, E. F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, pp. 275-76, Wakefield, op. cit. P. 92. John Ince., *The Kashmir Handbood*, P. 128. Walter Del Mar, *The Romantic East*, P. 161.

252. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 218-219, The author writes that "In talking over the question of population many Kashmiris, while admitting the fecundity of their women, always remark that God takes his share, and this is unfortunately true". Cholera broke out five times-during the period under study in 1847, 1867, 1872, 1875-1876 and 1879. Koul, P. A. op. cit., pp. 128-129.

253. Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. IX, op. cit. P. 467.

254. Major General Ralph Young, Unpublished Papers, India Office Library. Cit. Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, P. 267. The Major happened to be in Srinagar in July, 1867. He says, "The Maharaja's has had printed invocation of Sri Krishna for protection against cholera and sells them at-4- (annas) each".

255. Doctor Elmslie, *Seed Time In Kashmir*, pp. 207 and 212, Saraf M. Y., op. cit. pp. 266-267, Doctor, then serving in the Srinagar Mission Hospital, "The neglect cruelty and rapacity which I witnessed during that epidemic, are inconceivable. As a specimen I may mention this fact, when the cholera was at its worst, it was announced in the city that His Highness the Maharaja had discovered an effectual cure for the disease. This cure consisted of a printed 'Mantar' or charm which was to be repeated and posted above the door of the houses. The charm, it was announced, was not only curative but was preventive also. Each copy cost four annas (six pence) and was to be had at the Maharaja's Post-office. I went and bought several copies. I have them in my possession now I could mention more things of a piece with this but space forbids" .... "One day a poor sepoy who had been ordered to go to Gilgit and was suffering from large abdominal aneurism, came to her for treatment. The Doctor after prescribing medicines, gave him a certificate that he was utterly unfit for such a journey. A few days later he came again to inform the Doctor that his Dogra colonel, on being shown the certificate, had fined him a year's pay in advance and ordered him to leave for Gilgit the very next day. The poor wretch must have died in the way and left to be devoured by vultures".

256. Hasan, *Tarikh*, vol. I, op. cit. P. 467.

257. Biscoe, *Kashmir In Sunlight and Shade*, P. 306.

258. Ibid,.

259. Ibid., The author writes that "you would see a man washing in the river the clothes of a relation who had just died of cholera and a few feet down stream, a man would be drinking the water of the river. It was useless remonstrating, for your words had no meaning to them. Cholera was the will of Allah, or

of the gods, what had water or anything else to do with it"?

260. Pithawala, *An Introduction to Kashmir*, op. cit. P. 34.

261. Ince, *A Handbook of Kashmir*. P. 5. Apart from the floods of 1865 and 1871, many disastrous floods are reported in the histories. See *Kalhana Rajatarangini*, Book VII, Verses 1219, 1624, Book, VIII verses, 2449, 2786, 1417, 1422. Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. I. op. cit. pp. 473-476.

262. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 303-304.

263. Lawrence, *The Valley Of Kashmir*, P. 204. The author writes that "Accepting the fact that a fire is an incident of the curse, and therefore, inevitable, the wretched people will make no effort to extinguish the flames, and it devolves on the authorities and the troops to prevent their spreading".

264. Ibid., P. 205.

265. Ibid., Also see Naha Shah, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, f. 204-205.

266. . Wakefield, op. cit. P. 83. See *Wingate*, op. cit. P. 16., See also *Temple*, Sir Richard, *India in 1880*, P. 69. The author writes, "But, alas! the name of Happy valley so affectionately given to Cashmir by countless admirers, can be applied nowadays to its scenry, and not to its inhabitants of late years epidemic pestilence and desolating famine have wasted half the people to death, and driven the remainder to despair. Seldom has nature in such beauty looked upon man in such misery".

267. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 220, The author writes that "the Valley is full of superstitions, which the religions of the country foster and accentuate the administrations of the past have shaken all faith in the honesty and benevolence of rulers, and when on the top of this calamities rescue again and again, which make men lose all confidence in the order of the universe, we have a chain of circumstances not conducive to the formation of a vigorous and reliant national character. Superstition has made the Kashmiri timid. Tyranny has made him, a liar, while physical disasters have made him selfish and incredulous of the existence of good".

LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENT AND THE INSTITUTION OF BEGAR

The land revenue was the main source of income in Kashmir from ancient times and remained the main item of input into the state exchequer under the Dogras. In the early Hindu period land revenue was paid in kind [1] which was one sixth of the gross produce [2]. In addition to this the government took the extra cesses from the peasants leaving with them only that much which might suffice their needs [3]. During the Muslim rule (Sultanate period) the demand on land was increased to one half[4] of the produce. During the reign of Akbar, a new land revenue assessment [5] was Introduced, the peasants were to be left with only nine months food and during the remaining three months they were asked to live on 'plentiful fruits'. The state realized three quarters of the gross produce which was later again reduced down to one half [6]. Akbar, issued an order and brought all the cultivable land under the head Khalsa [7]. Hence after Kashmiri land-owners were entered in records as the tenants. The Pathans raised their share reducing the share of the peasants, whose rights were set aside, and they were robbed of their production [8]. During the Sikh rule, the state took a half share [9] of kharif crop and in addition four traks [10] per kharwar of sixteen traks. Rs. 1/9/- percent was added for the vegetables and such other things which were kept by the peasant without any assessment. The peasant had to pay other cesses too [11]. Out of the rabi and kimti crops, the cultivator had to pay, besides half-share, three traks per kharwar of 16 traks [12], an extra cess which was taken both in cash and kind. Such an assessment brought about the economic degradation of the peasant who received no more than about fourteen Kharwars out of the 100 for his own

use [13] as also for his time and labour [14]. William Moorcroft states that the tax-gatherer snatched 9/10ths of the peasants produce [15]. The peasants gained no profit from agriculture and had no interest in it [16].

Peasants and Prosperity Rights

When Gulab Singh took over Kashmir in 1846 A.D. it was believed that he would improve the economic conditions of the people by re-organizing the taxation system and the revenue policy [17]. He followed the Sikh procedure [18] alongwith its corrupt practices. In the Valley the land tenure was that of "Ryotwari in Ruins" the peasants were holding the land as Haq-i-Assami or tenants at will [19]. Gulab Singh himself proved a landlord [20] as he had purchased Kashmir alongwith its people and in law he was the sole proprietor of all land in his new purchase [21]. The peasants enjoyed the occupancy rights only so long as they paid the government dues and in the event of their failure to pay, they could, be ejected [22]. The peasant was not allowed to claim anything as his own, neither land and crops nor his own labour, he was not enjoying all those rights belonging to the peasantry in any other country[23], and submitted to be driven like sheep before the sepoy [24]. He did not enjoy the rights of sale or mortagage of his land [25]. The discrimination [26] was made between the peasants of Kashmir and those of Jammu, the latter were treated mostly as owners of land and were honoured while those of Kashmir did not enjoy proprietory rights, which were granted to them by Maharaja Hari Singh during his reign (1925-47 A.D.)[27]. The peasant in Kashmir was no better than an agricultural machine in possession neither of proprietory rights nor often occupancy rights[28]. The village aristocracy comprised of the Hindu landowners[29], while the Muslim peasants were the toiling sons of the soil,[30] who had to pay such high taxes that economic crisis bordering on starvation became more or less a regular affair[31]. Most of the peasants were landless "labourers working as serfs of the absentee landlords" [32]. The cultivation was decreasing, the people were wretchedly poor, and in any other country their state would have been almost one of starvation and famine...."[33]. The

people were taught that they were serfs without any rights but with many disabilities. "Cashmere" was one vast slave-worked plantation"[34]. Law and order had gone from bad to worse and no heed was paid to the adultration, black-marketing and inflation[35]. In every part of the Valley plunder and loot was prevalent, the people were plundered by the contractors of revenue and the latter in their turn by the government in the form of fines for misgovernment, misconduct and oppression[36]. The official had a right to their property and labour. The position of the peasants was worse than that of the "tiers Etat"-(rank) before the French Revolution[37]. Such a tyrannical policy resulted in the negligence of the cultivation of land, the revenue could not be paid and the people moved from village to village to escape oppression[38].

LORD REVENUE ASSESMENT

Under Maharaja Gulab Singh the demand of the government remained the same as one-half of the produce, plus extra-cesses[39]. Although some relaxation was made with regard to the waste and newly cultivated lands, government share was reduced to a third or sometimes to fourth[40]. In the *kharif* crops government share was again one-half in case of long cultivated lands and third to fourth share in case of newly cultivated lands[41]. The government share was collected mostly in kind at the end of the both the harvest (kharif and Rabi)[42]. This ancient[43] custom of collecting revenue in kind was most irksome unmanageable and expensive", and then "shali" was sent to the state granaries[44].

Maharaja Gulab Singh appointed Punjabi staff in the revenue department[45], and it resulted in the resentment of the peasants without any effect on the Maharaja who met with a stern hand, the resistance of cultivators in order to save the state from the loss of revenue[46]. Maharaja Gulab Singh is said to have ordered Wazir Punnu to collect the land revenue on daily basis and the money thus collected amounted to ten to twelve thousand rupees[47]. In 1851, Gulab Singh advised his son Mian Ranbir Singh to give better treatment to the peasants and to leave them with a reasonable portion of land produce[48]. But it was settled in

the tehsil Handwara that a cultivator would get 9 ½ traks out of two kharwars and the government share was fixed at one kharwar and five traks and the remaining one trak as the expenses of the secretariate staff [49] (officials concerned with the revenue work). This showed that government received more than half the produce. On the whole seven-eight's of the land produce reached the coffers of the state under Gulab Singh[50].

As a result of such a high demand the cultivation was neglected and the peasants left their villages and abandoned the cultivation of lands [51]. In order to get more and more land revenue Maharaja Gulab Singh made it compulsory for the cultivators and even shawl-weavers to plough the neighboring barren, stony land hill-side areas and those who disobeyed were treated badly [52]. As a result, the agriculturists left their villages due to the scarcity of food [53]. In 1852 A.D. the Valley of Kashmir was divided into seven divisions for the purposes of revenue administration and for inducing the peasants to cultivate the land, from morning to evening, specified number of sepoys were also kept in each division for keeping the cultivators busy[54]. In 1854 A. D., these contractors of revenue were asked by the Maharaja to enhance the revenue demand and trakis [55], similarly the kardars of different parganahs were also advised to collect the extra traks [56].

No doubt, Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885 A.D.) tried to introduce some reforms in the revenue administration [57], but to no use, because the officials never co-operated in carrying out successfully the reforms but persisted in the maintenance of ancient abuses [58].

In 1859 A. D. the land was farmed out to the persons known as kardars [59], who arranged the cultivation of the estates. The Maharaja distributed the land to the cultivators on the basis of nafre (individuals) system [60]. It was the duty of the kardars to collect the revenue from the cultivators with the help of Shaqdar and sazawals. It was under this system that revenue was collected from the peasants with the help of a military force "Nizamat Paltan" [61]. This system of revenue was completely un-

satisfactory [62]. In 1865 A. D. the extra traks per kharwar were reduced for all pandits and peerzadas to one trak [63]. The state reduced its share to a little over one half in 1860 A.D. but this concession brought more harm than any good to the peasants [64]. In 1869 A. D. the contract was directly entered into with the Mukadams or with the zamindars [65] and only two extra traks came to be levied instead of four [66]. Another system came into force namely chaklabandi, under which agricultural lands were divided into chaklas (three to four villages forming one chakla) and was allotted on revenue contracts for three years. These chakladars robbed the peasant as well as the state [67]. In 1873-74 A.D. the village contracts were divided into "assamiwar khewats" for three years [68]. The revenue demand was paid either in cash or produce. The harvest of 1875 A.D. was a bad one and the state took two shares leaving only one with the cultivators and added two more traks per kharwar to the assessment besides an aggregate tax amounting to Rs. 9/2/- percent [69]. When in 1877 A.D. the scarcity began, the contracts broke down and in 1880 A.D. a new assamiwar khewat was made which was based on the cash or kind collections of the previous years, known as cash settlement, though it was only in name a cash settlement and it depended on the higher authorities to decide yearly how much to take in kind and how much in cash [70]. The system worked in a manner that an order was issued annually from Srinagar for the collection of a certain quantity of shali and the demand was fixed at 20 to 30 percent in excess of what there was the likelihood of getting. Each tehsildar was then informed of the amount named from head-quarters with an addition in kharwar. As soon as it was learnt that they had to pay its khewat in large proportion of shali, the bribery began, which resulted in crushing the poor villagers and enriching the well-to-do [71]. The incharge official would enforce the settlement on the peasants by cheating them and would be proud of results of the assessment which he laid in paper before the higher authorities [72]. The assessment was based on the famine years of 1877-79 and the actual collection of the previous years were below the average because of the famine [73].

It was oppressive in those villages, which were not left by the people during the famine and was easy on those villages, which were left by the people and re-inhabited by those who came back[74]. After the good harvests of 1881 and 1882 A.D. the settlement was thought to have been easy and was raised by Rs. 1/9/- percent [75] and from 1881 to 1884 A.D. the khewat was gradually everywhere wounded up [76].

In 1882 A.D. a new experiment of revenue 'Izad Boli' (auctioning villages) was brought into force. Under this system the villages were auctioned to the highest bidder among the Pandit contractors after the fields were examined by "Nazardia" or eye survey[77]. These bidders would bid for the villages without taking into consideration the capacity of the villages [78] to pay the amount of the bidder. Even during the bad harvests the bidders would wring all they could out of the villagers and paid not a single rupee to the state. Even the sums offered at the time of auction could never be taken out of wretched villagers [79]. As such both the cultivator and the official concerned became the bakidars (defaulters) of revenue to the state. The Bakidar or defaulter list comprised "nearly everyone in the state from the Prime-Minister downwards" [80]. The bakidars existed before 1851 A.D. when Maharaja Gulab Singh ordered the remission of certain revenue arrears on the improvised cultivators [81], later on the bakidars of revenue were severely punished, [82] picking out the beard hair by heir [83], arresting the relatives and even their women folk [84]. The bakidars were Chained [85], exiled [86] and even killed in the prison [87]. Sometimes, owing to the severities imposed on these people, they were compelled to commit suicide[88].

The balances against the bakidars were either paper arrears or were mostly irrecoverable [89]. The officials ruined the villages under the "Giriftari" (to collect arrears), the tehsildar yearly decided how much should be collected on account of arrears [90]. The "Izad Boli" was abused by the system "Tukm musoda" (seed grain in advance), it was the custom to allot to each village a certain amount of grain for seed, but it was merely an

instrument of peculation. The grains never reached the cultivator but were distributed among the village headman, Patwari and other officials [91]. The value of the grain was listed as an arrear against the village. The system was further abused by regulating the system of enlisting the villages in 'sakim-ul-hal' [92] (infirm conditions), i.e. in any tehsil some villages were considered to be poor and unable to pay the revenue but in actual practice these had enough resources. Another aspect of Izad Boli was mujawaza (procurement), the system of annually setting the demand by the government in kind and in cash which became a source of enormous profit to the officials and of great loss to the state and of misery and demoralization to the people [93].

Thus there was an absence of any settled land-revenue system, one system followed the other, each being more faulty than the previous one. The mode of collection was haphazard [94].

In Kashmir the crops were usually divided on the ground in such a manner that both the ruler and the ruled were at the risk of loss. As a common practice the circles of villages were let out to the contractors who were assisted by a chain of officials [95]. When the crops were ready there used to be a dispute as to whether the crops were such that the contractor could fulfill his engagements. So an official appraiser was appointed whose valuation depended on the extent of the bribes paid to him by the peasants. Then crops were cut and threshed, were stacked within an enclosure surrounded by a low hedge of thorny bushes, where these remained for months in heaps, the peasant took his share and the grains reserved for the state were carried on ponies or in boats to the public granaries, where these were sold at low prices by the officers [96]. When the crops were ready the government put its watch–dogs (Shaqdars) to keep the peasant away from his crops and subjected him to severe penalties if he dared to use little crop for his use [97] or even if an animal ate a little of the stacked grains the owner of that animal was punished severely [98]. If the villagers could not satisfy the government demands they were deprived of their cattle and sheep by the officials as was seen in 1880 [99]. These officials used to plunder the peasants and

embezzle the revenue due to the state [100].

The cultivator had neither any right to his land nor to his crops while as the officials and the city population had a right to be well-fed" [101]. The revenue system was such that whether the peasant "works much or little he is left with barely enough to get along on till next harvest" [102]. Thus the peasant was a machine to produce for the huge population of the city which resulted in peasants fleeing from their villages leaving the share of the village to be paid by their neighbours who had more land in their hands then they could cultivate and were the worst sufferers for they had to pay the revenue [103]. The land had gone out of cultivation in about 252 (two hundred fifty two) villages [104], thus as a result the occupancy hereditary rights were very few as the villagers who fail in one tehsil they betake themselves in another [105]. While considering the existing revenue system, "one wonders that any village should have remained honest in the midist of so much corruption, and wonders too, not that the land revenue rapidly decreased, but that any revenue should have found its way to the state treasury [106].

EXACTIONS

The Valley had been subjected to exactions since the time of foreign aggressions. The Mughal exactions were limited but the brutal Afghan Governors exacted as much money from the Kashmiris as they could. The Sikh rule was no better, Ranjit Singh's most concern was with money, no matter, how it was collected as the Governors exacted as much as possible and if they failed to deliver the required sum, they were dismissed and forced to pay the money in arrears out of their own pockets [107]. The people of every profession, even the tailors and barbers were severely taxed [108]. The system of exactions and taxation of the pre-Dogra period was not only maintained but also extended in many ways during the period under study. Maharaja Gulab Singh had a vast field to make the exactions because he seemed to consider his purchase of Kashmir as a financial investment, so he was determined to get rich profits from it. He had an immense greed for money [109]. It is no wonder, when the central authority

looked only for money, the Governors lived on the labour of the people. The officers were allowed without any restraint to collect the normal tax plus extortionate sums by fleecing the people[110]. Maharaja Gulab Singh used a hundred arts in the extortion of money and also opened the new doors of tyranny [111].

Maharaja Gulab Singh indeed inaugurated a rapacious economic programme and everything was taxed heavily, every product and every person also [112]. In the first instance he confiscated the muafi lands (tax-free) of Hindu and Muslim priests which enabled the government to collect additional two hundred thousand kharwars of grain per year [113]. The government made each product a monopoly and then farmed out that monopoly to a contractor [114]. Rice was practically in the hands of the government [115]. Silk, Saffron, [116] tea, salt, koth, paper, tobacco, brick-making [117], the lacquered works such as pen cases, toilet boxes, and (aromatic root of saussurea) Chob-i-kot, violets, various kinds of forest products, hemp, water-nuts all these, formed the government monopoly [118]. The result of such monopolies was that "every villager" was "his own shopkeeper"[119].

The peasant had to pay two kinds of revenues, the legitimate one known as koul and the illegal known as Rasum. Rasum was the perquisites enjoyed by the officials who kept a list of the items falling under the head [120]. Everything was taxed except "air and water", which was in abundance in the Valley and could not be brought under taxation [121]. The Maharaja doubled the price of shali (unhusked rice) from one to two rupees per Kharwar [122], which resulted in hoarding and black-marketing and the common scarcity of food [123]. The cultivators had to pay for every hundred kharwars of shali a permit tax for importing it to Srinagar [124]. In addition to the land revenue the peasants had to pay traki which was advanced by degree till it reached three-eights of the tenant's share [125]. The annual tax on singharas (water-chestnuts) was raised from fourteen thousand to a hundred thousand rupees [126] and thus these assessments alongwith the land taxes raised the government annual revenue

from about thirty-five lakhs to over forty-six lakhs of rupees [127]. Thus the peasants had to live by the grace of God because their conditions were completely deteriorating [128]. Each house in the village had to pay four to twenty annas as a cess [129].

The right to legalise the marriages was framed out and even the dead could never be buried except by the licensed and privileged grave-diggers [130]. The duties were also levied on the dried cow-dung [131] used as fuel. The peasants were also charged duties as temple tax for the maintenance of a charitable kitchen in the name of Gadadharji temple [132], at the same time we get a reference to the imposition of some cess on the Hindu temples[133]. The social evils like gambling and prostitutions were not only encouraged but also fastened as it yielded a large amount to the government [134]. The social ceremonies were also taxed [135]. "Rasum-i-Khidmatgaran" was a levy collected for the maintenance of the palace attendants, at the rate of four annas on one hundred rupees [136] and four traks for a hundred traks (kind)[137]. Doll Jinsi was the tax imposed on the peasants as maintenance of sepoy regiments and collected as four additional traks on every hundred kharwars. Rasum-i-Deorhi, was collected from Thandars, peasants, and other officials of the Parganahs at the rate of two to three hundred rupees [138]. The government collected the oil forcibly from the people for the purpose of burning lamps in the palace, government offices and in the main streets [139]. It was in 1848 A.D. that kitchen gardens were brought under taxation when Sultan (Sula) Pahalwan (the Muqadam of vegetable growers) offered to pay the government annually one thousand two hundred rupees (Rs. 1.200) more than the previous years demand if he was allowed to collect a levy from the vegetable gardens and he collected it at the rate of 4 annas from each kitchen garden known as Rasum-i-Sabzi [140]. The barbars. who were exempted from taxes traditionally, were now asked to pay the baj and khiraj [141] (rasums). Many private gardens growing apples, pears and walnuts were confiscated because these fruits had a great demand in Punjab [142]. The fruits were taxed at the rate of ¾ ths of the annual produce by the

government [143]. The owners of animals of the village were equally taxed [144], every keeper of milk cow had to supply one seer of ghee yearly as tax or in cash, it was collected from ten to twenty rupees. Girdlestone has pointed out in 1871 A.D. that circumcision was taxed which brought in six hundred rupees (Rs. 600) as revenue, sale of chinar leaves brought rupees twenty-five and the tax on sheep and goat earned Rs. 1,07,311[146]. Even the village scavenger had to give a specified number of skins to the government annually, whether or not any animal died in the village [147]. The peasants sold their oxen and left the villages due to such harsh atrocities and over-exactions [148]. Thus nothing escaped the exactions of the government and its officials[149].

BEGAR (Forced Labour)

The most characteristic feature of Kashmir administration was the 'Kar-i-begar' or forced labour. It existed in the Valley due to its nature and absence of any proper roads. In ancient Kashmir, the system existed under Samkaravarman in late 9th century A.D. and it was known as "rudhebarodhi" who used it for fiscal extortion [150]. Even during Kalhana's own times the carriage of loads under this system was "the harbinger of misery for the villages" [151]. A military expedition led by Jayasimha's (1128-1149 A.D.) Commander Dhaya resulted in a victory at the "expense of human life and human sufferings" [152]. Kalhana refers to thirteen kinds of begar[153]. The system continued under the Sultans, Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs [154] and Dogras. The curse of begar fell on the villagers owing to the absence of any labouring population in the Valley [155]. The state had every right [156] to call upon the villagers to perform the duty of "begar". The labouring class existed in the cities but the cities, and the non-Muslims were exempted from "begar", the cultivators working in jagirs, Dharmarth villages and the tenants working in the land grants of officials (chakdars) were free from the fear of being taken to perform this duty [157]. Any influential name [158] (official) could protect the villagers from it, and some even purchased exemption from 'begar' by bribing the tehsil authorities [159]. So it were the villagers, especially the Muslim peasants [160] who were the

who Were the harmless subjects of the Maharaja [184]. the oppression through begar on peasants was much more than the extortion of the tax collections which left a little subsistence allowance to them or left them to live on fruits and vegetables but this institution meant a separation for the villagers from their families and more than that caused them life-long torture and death [185]. The absence of peasants, from their fields during the sowing or ripening time, caused the agriculture to decline and scarcity became prevalent, which was a loss both to the cultivator and the government [186]. However in 1890-91 an opportunity was taken to minimize the impressment of begar coolies [187], but its hardships on peasants were present even in 1913 when they were taken as begar coolies to Pahalgam [188] The Press wrote against it in 1920 [189]. The State Council passed a resolution (No: XV, August 22, 1922) for its stoppage [190] in 1923 A.D. but even in 1925-26 it was present in the frontier province[191].

References

1. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini,* Vol. I, Book V (Verse 171, F.N.), P.209.

2. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 402., *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* pp. 104-105, The author writes, "in the days of the old Hindu rajas, the state is said to have taken no more than one sixth of the gross produce, the theory being that on a division of the population into inhabitants of the country and inhabitants of the towns, one sixth of the food produced by the former was enough for the wants of the latter, as well as of the court and officials".

3. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini,* Vol. I, book III (Verses 347-348), P. 154. It is clear from Lalitaditya's instructions to his

ministers that "Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for (the tillage of) their fields". Because if they keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Damaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king.

4. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 402. On the basis of the Munich. MS. F. 53b. cit, Mohibul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, P. 214. The author writes that Shah Mir retained the land revenue demand of 1/6 of the produce. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. P. 366 (Jerret), The author writes that the demand was increased to 1/3[rd] which remained static during the whole Sultanate period.

5. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. pp.366-67 (Jerret). According to the assessment of Kazi (Ali) the revenue was fixed at 30 lakhs, 63,050 kharwars, 11 traks, each kharwar being 3 men, 8 seers. Akbar Shahi "......The revenue fixed by Asaf Khan, was 30 lakhs, 79,443 Kharwars of which 10 lakhs, 11,330 at kharwars were in money".

6. Ibid., Vol. II, P. 366 (Jarret).

7. Ibid., pp. 370--311, "As Mohd Yar Khan refused to remain incharge of Kashmir under the system of increased revenue, the country was made Khalsa". Bazaz, P. N., *Kashmir in crucible*, P. 21.

8. The government share amounted to fifty or sixty lakhs of small rupees about 330,000. Sterlings Nawab Jabar collected in the last year of the Pathan rule "62 lakhs of small rupies equal to more than 400,000 sterlings". Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 118-119. Abdullah (1753), the first Afghan governor realized more than one crore rupees from the Kashmiri. Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. I, P. 652.

9. Wingate, op. cit. P. 18.

10. Traki, introduced by Afghans, was a kind of tax, continued by the Sikhs and Dogras. It was charged at different rates from time to time and also varied from locality to locality and sometimes it was raised to such an amount that the peasant

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was left only with one third of the produce. Taylor. *Diary*. op. cit. P. 80.

11. Ganeshi Lal, op. cit. P. 38.

12. Ibid.,

13. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit. Vol. I, P. 311.

14. Ibid., Vol. II, P. 120.

15. Moorcroft, *Travels*, op. cit. P. 235.

16. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, pp. 105-106.

17. Hardings to Secy., Dec. 4. 1846. PRAL, pp. 194-195. cit., Singh, B.S., *The Jammu Fox*, op. cit. pp. 165-166.

18. Wingate, op. cit. P. 19.

19. Ibid.,

20. Ince, *Kashmir Hand-book*, P. 24.

21. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated Nov., 1, 1850, f.142. "The author narrates an incident that Maharaja Gulab Singh, once, while moving about the land of Guru Baba, was met by a lady who said, we are hereditary residents of Kashmir and we had built a pacca house. But a sepoy demolished the house saying that he would build a house for himself on the spot". The Maharaja replied, the landowner is some-one else, the Nazim (Hakim Ala) or the Hakim (Kotwal), any person who build a house, he is the owner of only material (stone, bricks, wood etc.) and not of the land".

22. James, Collet, *A Trip to Kashmir*, pp. 21-22. Neve, E. F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 57.

23. Wingate, op. cit. P. 19.

24. Ibid., see also *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 106.

25. Neve, E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 57. *Tarikh-i-Kalan*, (Anonymous), f. 135, The author mentions a tax known Qazia, taken on the sale of land in the city of Srinagar only during the Sikh rule in Kashmir. Cit., Sharma, D. C., *Kashmir under Sikhs*, P. 146.

26. Wingate, op. cit. P. 28, the author writes about Jammu

that "The villages usually belong to proprietors whether jointly, or in district shares, and to these proprietors the cultivators pay a small share of the produce. The cultivators are hereditary See also, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 116.

27. Census of India, 1941, Vol. XII, *Jammu and Kashmir. Parts I* and *II, Essays and Tables*, pp. 15-16.

28. *Report of the Galancy Commission*, 1932. P. 27.

29. J. Karbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, pp. 13-14 and 210, See also Madan, *Family and Kinship*, P. 42., *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, pp. 465-466, records the observations of Elmslie in respect of the total population of the Valley which as estimated then was 403,700 in which Hindus numbered 75,000. Amongst the total population Muslim Suni Jagirdars numbered 2, Shias 3 nd Hindus 40, see also Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 30.

30. Bazaz, P. N., *Kashmir in Crucible*, P. 9, See also Afzal Beg, *On the Way to Golden Harvest*, P.5.

31. J. Karbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, pp. 13-14.

32. Bazaz, P. N., *Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir.*, P. 144. Knight., *Where Three Empires Meet*, pp. 77-78.

33. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 176.

34. Luccullus, *Kashmir Raj*, pp. 18-22 (1868), Cit, Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, pp, 255-256, The author has quoted a contemporary Newspaper. "India Public Opinion", then published from North India, which reports through out the year, the villagers men, women and children are turned out each morning at the sound of a drum to work in gangs under alien task-masters, at a husbandry of which they are not to reap the benefits. When ripe, the crops of each village are stored in open air or granaries strictly guarded and when, after many weeks and even months delay, the whole produce of the country has been duly calculated and valued, the grain is doled out in quantities just sufficient to keep life and soul together", to use the words of Colonel Markham".

35. Qamar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XII, Dated 27 Feb., 1860, f. 23.

36. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 2, See also Lawrence, *The India We Served*, P. 128. The author writes that "in 1889 the Kashmir state was bankrupt, the rich land was left uncultivated, and the army was employed in forcing the villagers to plough and sow, and worse still, the soldiers came at harvest time, and When the share of the state had been seized and these men of war had helped themselves, there was very little grain to tide the unfortunate peasants over the cruel winter, when the snow lies deep and temperature falls below zero".

37. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 21 Lawrence has cited a passage from Hazlitt's "Life of Napoleon Bonapart" which gives a fair idea of peasantry before the settlement commenced, the passage is that the peasants were over-worked, half-starved, treated with hard words and hard blows, subjected to unceasing exactions and every species of petty tyranny...."

38. Ibid.,

39. Taylor. R.C., *Diary*. June 28th to July 3rd. 1847. P.10. The author writes that "Kunkoot in well lands—The crops are measured and appraised. The Government share is one-half the Kum or estimate never exceeds the mance per beegah anything above that is the right of cultivator, but it is a heavy crop that exceeds the 5 maunds".

40. Ibid.,

41. Ibid., P. 24, The author writes that "The Government share is one-half of the produce in kind of long cultivated lands or where water is available, a third share in dry lands and a fourth for the space of four years in ground newly broke up".

42. R. Temple, op. cit. June 19th, 1859, pp. 32-33. The author writes that he was told by the people "that the land-tax was assessed in money payments until the ravages of cholera in 1858, when the government could not adhere to them and was forced to accept the old payment, in kind, or on appraisement of crop, as a temporary measure". Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol.

VII, dated Jan. 12, 1854. f. 17. The report says that the government fixed its revenue demand sometimes in cash and sometimes in kind while on other occasions in both cash and kind. See also Salig Ram, op. cit. pp. 225-226.

43. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini,* Vol. II. (verse 61), P. 6 f.n.

44. Salig Ram, op. cit. p. 226, It required a "host of weighers to weigh it, porters, pack-ponies and boatmen to remove it from place to place" and "a train of storekeeper to take it in charge". Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated.Jan., 27,1854. f. 145. Gulab Singh turned certain mosques like Pathar Masjid into government granaries of shali. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. VII, Dated May 1, 1854. f. 107.

45. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. II, dated Oct., 12, 1849. f. 69. It is clear from the appointment of Devi Datt In revenue administration. See also. Saif-ud, *Roznamcha,* Vol. V, dated 22nd oct., 1852. f. 95.

46. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. II, dated Dec. 2, 1848. f. 100. Vol., II, dated Jan., 14, 1849. f., 23, dated Feb., 1, 1849. f.26.

47. Ibid., Dated 27 Dec., 1848. f. 17. Vol. IV, dated 31st Oct., 1851. ff. 9-29. See

48. Ibid., Vol. IV, dated 31st, oct., 1851. f. 113.

49. Ibid., dated Nov., 27. 1851. f. 125. The variation of ½ Trak is due to some error in the Diary.

50. Ireland, John B., *From Wall Street to Kashmir* (New York, 1858). pp. 396-398. Cit. Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom,* P. 239. The author writes that "The country is badly cultivated and almost depopulated by the tyranny that had existed for some years past. I have passed but one village today and that about, two hours ago... This evening p... who has been here nearly a year on sick leave, has been reading extracts from his journal, incidents and matters. He has seen and heard from his friends who have seen or known about them. Among other matters, the avarice, oppression and cruelty of Gulab Singh, who is admitted to be the wealthiest man in India, and which he has

scattered allover the country for safety. Part is in a Secret place in the fort at Jamoo, which was constructed a few years age, and to preserve the secret, the men who built it were destroyed".

51. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. II, dated Jan. 14,1849, f.23, Due to the official high-handedness the peasantry had everywhere nearly given up ploughing lands. So to avoid famine and loss of revenue, the Maharaja deputed sepoys and thanadars to induce by force the ploughing of fields by cultivators.

52. Ibid., dated February 1, 1849, f. 26, It has been recorded in the *Roznamcha* that Maharaja Gulab Singh visited the area lying between Shalimar garden and Nishat garden whlch was full of hedges and stones. The area was entrusted to the neighboring cultivators for tillage. However, the people of these villages jointly presented themselves before the Maharaja for justice. But in return sepoys were sent to snatch away all their belongings in cash and kind and to sell their children to make up the government revenue.

53. Ibid., dated October 9, 1850. Vol. III f. 123, In October 1850, it was reported that some five hundred cultivators belonging to Shupian had left for Punjab compelled by scarcity of food. Thompson, Dr. Thomes, *Western Himalaya and Tibet.* P. 275. The author writes in 1852–53, that "above Gond the Valley of Sind is very poorly inhabited and deserted villages and a-bandoned cultivation showed that the population is diminishing long continuance of mis-rule under a succession of Governors whose only interest it has been to extract as much revenue as possible from the unfortunate inhabitants having produced the only conceivable result, in abandoned cultivation and an impoverished people".

54. The divisions with number of sepoys were as under:-

		No. of sepoy
1. Parganahs held by Raja Kak Dhar	--	300
2. Parganahs held by Wazir Punnoo	--	400
3. Parganahs held by Wazir Zorawaroo	--	30

4. Parganahs held by Mian Amir Singh -- 40
5. Parganahs held by Munshi Tralok Chand -- 12
6. Parganahs held by Colonel Baji SIngh -- 10
7. Parganahs held by Janki Daas -- 08

See Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, dated Feb., 16-18, 1852, Vol. V, 21-22, dated August 8, 1852, f. 68.

55. The following contractors were asked to pay the extra revenue as under:-

1. Lachman pandit Dhar - 10,000 Kharwars
2. Raja Kak Dhar - 15,000 Kharwars
3. Mian Amir Singh - 12,000 Kharwars
4. Munshi Tralok Chand - 10,000 Kharwars

56. Ibid., Vol. IX, dated 15 June, 1856, f. 75, dated July 2, 1856, f. 90. As such on 2 July 1856 A. D. Diwan Kanhaya presented to the Maharaja 9,000 rupees realized as extra demand on 3 July, 1856 A.D. Col. Beji. Singh presented 18,000 rupees as excess collections. Pandit Sahab Ram presented 12,000 rupees as excess collections.

57. In Oct., 6, 1857 A.D. (16 Katak 1914) Ranbir Singh issued the Dastur-ul-Amal (Administrative Reforms) to be carried out for the welfare and prosperity of the peasants. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. X, dated Oct., 1857, ff. 307-308.

58. Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh p. 105. The author writes that "From time to time there have been pretences of diminishing the share of the state, and even of setting the revenue on the basis of payments in cash, but the interest of the army of officials are so bound up with the maintenance of ancient abuses, that improvements are unmade almost as soon as made, the promises of future concessions are received by the peasants with a smile of incredulity".

59. Wingate, op. cit. P. 19, Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 402, For details regarding Kardar, See Chapter IV.

60. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 402. Nafre was a unit, which consisted of a man, his wife and one adult son. Under the Nafre title was given four acres of irrigated land. The Min-Nafre consisted of a man and his wife and Pao Nafre consisted of a bachelor and that land was distributed according to the system as four acres of irrigated land, two acres and one and a half acre respectively.

61. Qamar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XII, dated Sept. 5, 1860. f. 110. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 402.

62. Ibid., Vol. XII, dated July 17, 1860, ff. 49-50.

63. Wingate, op. cit. P. 19.

64. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 403.

65. In Kashmir Zamindar is the name for a peasant or cultivator.

66. Wingate, op. cit. P. 19.

67. Qamar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XII, dated July 20, 1860, f. 51 and 56. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 403.

68. "Assami" means cultivator and "Khewet", the account, so it refers to the cultivator's account. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 403, the author calls the system as the "riayatwari settlement" because the state entered into contract with the peasants (raiyats).

69. Wingate, op. cit., P. 19.

70. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 403.

71. Wingate, op. cit. P. 23.

72. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 404, Wingate, op. cit., P. 22. The author writes about the settlement which differed from paper to practice as "It is, therefore, a good village to show that what on paper may appear a crushing assessment is in reality not an unfair one. To take half the gross produce, to add 4 traks per kharwar for food grains, and so take 3/5 th's of the bulk of the gross produce, to add 57 percent. Under the names of taxes of all kinds, and to exact besides payment for fruit, honey, oil, ought when the claims of village servants and rapacious officials

have been satisfied from the attenuated balance, to leave the cultivators with literary nothing. Yet this village is very comfortably off, and pays the demand in full pretty easily".

73. Wingate, op. cit., pp. 19-20 and 22.

74. Ibid., P. 25.

75. Wingate, op. cit., pp. 19-20. The author writes that "the chief items of the increase being 6-13-0 for 8 poney-tax which might be paid in ponies instead of money and in place of the Rs. 1-9-0 percent, formerly levied for fodder, the cultivators were required to give five kurus of rice straw per 100 threshed. This settlement included all cesses except the tembol and nazrana".

76. Wingate, op. cit., P. 25, Jallali, J.L. *Economics of Food grains in Kashmir*, pp. 43-44, The author while commenting on the settlement writes that this "settlement was a double-edged sword invented to retard the progress of the times".

77. Henvey's Report on Kashmir (confidential), (Simla Records) Foreign Department, Secret E, proceedings....... Jan, 1883, No.s, 239-240 (N.A. India) cit., *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 109.

78. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 405. The author writes that "the auctioneers seem to have been men of some humour, for they laid great stress on the fact that certain villages possessed charming and shady plane trees, and that the cultivators were an extremely amenable people who would gladly pay the revenue to the highest bidder at the auction".

79. Heney's Report. op. cit. cit., *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 109. The author writes that "the best thing for the cultivator to do is to steal and hide as much of the grain as he can after the eye survey of the officials. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 405. This system resulted in the fleeing of the revenue officials at the time of the payment. "In one tehsil a group of eight villages had been managed by an influential headman who paid Rs. 5,500 per annum. At the auction sales an ignorant boatman bid Rs. 13,000 for these villages, but after one months experience absconded and these eight villages were

saddled with a revenue of Rs. 13,000. Of course, this has never been paid, but what is worse, the original Rs. 5,500 had never been realized since the auction sale".

80. Heney's Report, op. cit., *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 109.

81. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IV, dated Nov., 1. 1851. f. 114.

82. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. V. dated 14, 1852, f .113. The kardar of Sahkur Shupian, Ganda Mal, was a bakidar of Rs. 14,000. He was seated in the Narsing-garh bazaar, Srinagar with the Ishtihar (Notification) flying over his head. He had to grind corn into flour on a heavy stone.

83. Ibid., Vol. V. dated Sept., 1. 1853. f. 95, we get many references with regard to the methods of torture on the Bakidars of revenue (*Gazab Chispan*). Under this system one Ved Ram, agent of Bhai Hukum Singh, held for arrears, was ordered that his beard should be picked hair by hair and then he was put into prison.

84. It was ordered in 1853 A.D. that Bakidars should be punished by arresting their women and children till they liquidated debts to the state. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VI, dated 21 January. 1853. f. 9.

85. An order was issued in March 1855 A.D. that the bakidars who had not cleared up their balances from (S. 1903) 1846 A.D. to (S. 1908), 1851 A.D. should be locked up and heavily chained in Shergarhdi fort. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VIII, f. 33 dated March 1, 1855.

86. The Bakiders of revenue as Pandit Nidham Bhat, Pandit Tota Bhat and Pandit Bravani Koul and Chasibri Arjan were sent to Punjab and Reasi alongwith their families- young and old, Ibid. Vol. VII, dated Jan., 7. 1854, f. 10.

87. Ibid., dated July 29. 1854, f. 175, The News reporter has recorded that Nidam Pandit Bhat of Rampore, a bakidar was killed in jail and cremated in the clothes he was wearing without showing the dead body to his relatives. Then his wife and

children were put into prison but released on public demand.

88. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XI, dated March 8, 1858, f.39. One Bakidar, Pandit Lal Chand committed suicide by drowning himself.

89. Logan, Report, op. cit., pp. 27-28, The author writes that due to the Azad Boli, "The amount of land revenue in arrears at the end of Samvat 1947 (1891) is stated to be nearly 48 lakhs of rupees, equal to 3 years land revenue of Kashmir".

90. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 409.

91. Ibid., P. 407.

92. Ibid., P. 408, The author has observed that this system ruinous as it has been from a financial point of view has been equally disastrous as a means of corrupting the people. An honest village which paid its revenue would soon lose heart when it saw its neighbours waxing fat under the designation of "Šakim-ul-hal", while a straight forward and difficult endeavor to discharge its revenue liabilities met with very little encouragement on the part of the officials".

93. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 407. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 177, The author writes that the new assessment of the land revenue was three times as heavy as that of the amount demanded in the British districts of Punjab.

94. Wingate, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

95. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 110, These officials were the Tarazudar (weighman) the shakdar (watchman), the sazawal (who controls shakdar), the patwari (Accountant), the Mukaddam (the headman), the Kardar (who arranges distribution of produce the tehsildar (incharge of pergana). The details about these officials have been discussed in chapter IV.

96. Ibid., P. 11, See also Irland John, B., *From Wall Street to Cashmere*, pp. 396 to 398, cit. Saraf, M. Y., *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, P. 240, The author writes about the system of collection of the crops that "After the grain is harvested, it must

be stacked and remain, until the government assessors report and the king chooses to fix the rate of the tax. Sometimes it is two or three months. In the meanwhile the poor wretches, if they have none of the old crop left, are obliged to subsist on turnips (almost the only vegetable) and herbs".

97. Afzal Beg, *On The Way to Golden Harvest*, pp. 28-29. The author writes that there are cases when even the peasant after having visited his crop had his mouth searched lest he had a few grains hidden in the mouth. If it could be proved that he had even swallowed a few grains then no means of punishment were spared to humiliate him.

98. Ireland, John B., op. cit., The author has narrated the punishments meted out to these people as "A month or two since, an officer, in passing through the country, saw in one of the villages, three persons being punished because the donkey of one had broken loose and eaten from a stack of grain, and the other for taking a little from one of their own stacks before the stock had been assessed.

The first was punished by having his hands tied tightly together over a stick, and then hung on the branch, the blood was flowing from his nails. The other two were tied back to back and each obliged to hold the other on his back for a certain number of hours, and if he allowed the man on his back to touch the ground, he was severely flogged".

99. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 404.

100. Knight, E. F., *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 62.

101. Wingate, op. cit. p. 26, The Settlement Officer has noticed that "The ignorant Mohammadan cultivator has not only no one he can call friend, but every-one whether Hindu or Mohammadan, of any influence is against him, for cheap bread by the sweat of the cultivator's brow, is a benefit widely appreciated. The Mohammadan cultivator is compelled to grow shali, and in many years to part with it below the proper market rate, that the city may be content. If the harvest is too little for both, the city must be supplied and is supplied by force that may

be necessary and the cultivator and his children must go without. This is the explanation of the angry discontent that filled the Valley during the famine".

102. Ibid., Robert Lord of Kandhar, *Forty-One Years in India*. pp. 40-41. The author writes that the Mohammadan inhabitants were being ground down by Hindu rulers, who seized all their earnings, leaving them barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. What interest could such people have in cultivating their land, or doing any work beyond what was necessary to mere existence? However, hard they might labour their efforts would benefit, neither themselves nor their children, and so their only thought was to get through life with as little exertion as possible".

103. Knight, E. F., *Where Three Empires Meet*. P. 74.

104. Wingate, op. cit. P. 31.

105. Ibid., P. 27, The author says that "In a highly fertile Valley to find the peasantry roaming from village to village is a clear sign that the administration is faulty. This constant search for a rest never found, leads to two things, first, that much valuable land is annually thrown out of cultivation, and secondly that the people endeavour to shelter themselves behind any influential name".

106. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*. P. 409.

107. Hugel, Baron C., *Kashmir and the Punjab*. pp. 404-405.

108. Ganeshi Lal, op. cit., P. 35, The writer points out that the Government received 24,30,000 Hari Singhi rupees from Kashmir. Hegel, Baron C., op. cit., P. 146, The author writes about the oppression exercised on the Nach girls, "These poor creatures are doomed to a hard fate, they are not allowed either to sing or dance without permission and if they get this, an officer of the government always accompanies them who grasps whatever they receive. Though tailors and barbers were exempted from taxation, but Wazir pannu asked them to pay the taxes. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IV, dated Jan. 25, 1851, f. 11.

109. Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit. P. 301,

110. Saif-ud-DIn, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VII, f. 230, dated 28th September, 1854.

111. Mirjanpuri, Mohammad Khalil, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, P. 331 (PMS).

112. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 178. The author writes that "no product is too insignificant, and no person too poor to contribute to the state. "Hudson, Toter, P. 133, cit. Bawa S. Singh, *The Jammu Fox*, pp. 167-168.

113. Mirjanpuri, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, P. 331.

114. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 417, The author has quoted Dr. Johnson's definition of Excise, "A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid".

115. Taylor, R. C., *Diary*, June 28th to July 3rd, 1847, P. 75.

116. Cunningham, Captain, A., cit. Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, P. 249-250, Cunningham sent a memo to the Resident about the conditions of Kashmir and writes that "The saffron was cultivated by the Maharaja himself, and I found the saffron fields of Pampur carefully watched by chupraris from the Government Thanahs. It is even said, but I confess that I cannot credit it, that the soldiers have once been employed to pick the saffron crops".

117. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 178. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 113.

118. Cunningham, Captain, A., op. cit. P. 249-250, The author writes that "During my stay in Kashmir, I observed on several occasions that the Maharaja Gulab Singh had, either directly or indirectly, a complete monopoly of all the chief products of the country... Even walnuts did not escape him, as I found a house filled with them at Gagangir on the Sindh River which was closed up under the Maharaja's seal. The lacquered work such as pen-cases, toilet boxes etc., was also partly

monopolized as I purchased one dozen of the former and a few of the latter from the Maharaja's agents".

119. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P.390.

120. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 415-417, Appendix No: V

121. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 417. See also, *Indian Public Opinion*, cit. Lucullus, *Kashmir Raj*. pp. 18 to 21 quoted, Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, P. 257., The paper, in its issue of the 23rd Nov., 1866 has written that "who that has visited the beautiful vale of Cashmere has not heard of the extortionate exactions, the grinding tyranny and oppression, of the enormous revenues under the name of customs and other dues literally "screwed out" of the inhabitants of the Valley by the Maharaja's myrmidons".

122. Khaniyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, f. 59,

123. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. I dated Dec., 2, 1848, f. 98. Vol. II, dated Feb, 16, 1849, ff. 2-3, Vol. VIII dated March 12, Vol. IV, dated Nov., 1 and 7, 1851, ff. 114,117, April 5, June 20, 1856, ff. 35, 39, 73, In 1851 Maharaja Gulab Singh visited the Valley and was welcomed with the cries for food, when Gulab Singh enquired into the matter he was told that the crying was due to the scarcity of food grains. But to this the Maharaja replied that the food that was cooked in the royal kitchen came from Jammu while as all the food-stuffs grown in the Valley were consumed by the people in the city so they were crying uselessly.

124. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated Feb. 1849, f. 44.

125. Girdlestone, *Memorandum on Kashmir*, P. 34, cit. Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, P. 281.

126. Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. II, P. 833.

127. It also included the devaluation of the rupee by 25% Khaniyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, f.59.

128. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated Feb., 16, 1849, f. 28.

129. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 113., Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit., p. 55. This tax was called Russudart and levied according to the number of inmates of a house hold.

130. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 417. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 113, Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IV, dated May, 1, 1851, f. 20.

131. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol.II, dated Feb.16, 1849, f.5.

132. Ibid., dated Dec., 1, 1848, f. 6, The temple tax for the construction of the temple Gadadharji, opposite Sherghadi palace, was already there but it was enhanced for running the free kitchen to feed the poor. It was collected from the Valley as well as Ladakh, hill regions and Gilgit and brought about twelve thousand rupees annually to the government.

133. Ibid.,

134. Ibid., f. 5 and 7, Vol. X, dated Feb., 17, 1857, f. 33, dated Feb., 15, 1857, f. 32, We get reference to Kalal Khana (Department of Wines) and considered social evils encouraged by the government like prostitutions, gambling, preparation and sale of wines. Though at a later stage the prohibition of wines was ordered and the tax on it was also cancelled. Vol. X. dated March 9, 1857, f. 47, People sold their daughters to the prostitution at Amira Kadal and had to pay the more than half the amount to the Government Adalati and kotwal to legalise the transaction. Vol. IV, dated March 9, 1851, f. 26.

135. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated Dec., 1, 1848, f.6. Under this head every Kashmiri, Hindu and Muslim, had to contribute at the rate of One rupee according to their social position, on marriage and other festivals, and was called "Bhat Fund", for the improvement of the social conditions of the Bhat community belonging to Jammu.

136. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 114, Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated Dec., 1, 1848, f. 5.

137. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated March, 1, 1850, f.37.

138. Ibid., Vol. II, dated Dec., 1, 1848, f. 3.

139. Ibid., f. 6, It has been recorded that every-oil dealer had to keep a kettle of specified measure which was to be filled with oil collected from every customer at the rate of ½ seer in the sale of a paji (six seers) (Each paji cost Rs. 1-8-0 in new Srinagari rupees or 1-4-0 annas in old Harisinghi rupee). When Gulab Singh took charge of Kashmir in Nov., 1846, two types of silver coins were in circulation. That is Nanakshahi rupees which were to be minted at Lahore and Harisinghi rupees were minted at Srinagar from the times of Hari Singh Nalwa, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir. However, Gulab Singh introduced new silver coins which were called "Srinagari" rupees. They were inferior in quality to Harisinghi rupee.

140. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated Dec., 1848, f. 7. Vol. III, dated August 22, Sept., I, 1850, ff. 98,108.

141. Ibid., Vol. II, dated Feb., 7, 1849, f.27.

142. Ibid., Vol. IV, dated Sept., 1851, f. 88.

143. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit. p. 55.

144. The contractors of Shunga Kotwal, were harsh on the peasant who entered the private stables and took any animal they laid their hands on as a government tax. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. I, dated Oct.23.1849, f.3, Vol. XIII, dated Jan., 2.1861, f.2, It has been recorded that the peasants had to feed and keep certain state owned stock of sheep for winter and to return the lot plus one yar of puttoo per sheep in the next spring, and had to contribute one sheep on each batch of one hundred kept by them in addition to sheep tax.

145. Ibid., Vol. II, dated Feb. 1849, f. 43, every person who was the owner of ten horses had to give government as a tax and these were then Mistri-Khana.

146. Girdlestone, Memo, cit. Saraf, *Kashmiri Fight For Freedom*.

147. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 418.

148. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IV, dated Jan. 25, 1851, f.

11. Vol. XI, dated 5 March. 1858. ff. 36-38.

149. *Indian Public Opinion*, 23rd Nov. 1866, op. cit., it has been recorded that "Not only is the entire land produce most heavily taxes, but the people also. If we are to believe the accounts we receive, betrothals, marriages, births, deaths, Mohammedan religious ceremonies, agriculture, manufactures, trades, professions, services, commerce, labour, social customs, even the social evils, are all made to yield a revenue, and nothing escape the Argus eye and vulture propertsities of the Cashmere Government and its officials Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit. Vol. I. P. 184. Mrs. Henvey who was in Kashmir before 1851 writes in her book *"Adventures of a lady"* P. 121. "Everything appears to be heavily taxed in Kashmir and every person too-the artisan and the manufacturer too, the people are in a state of squalid poverty and the country swarms with beggars. There are an immense number of children and the land is prolific inspite of its poverty-perhaps as in Ireland, in consequence of it. Torrens. *Travels*. op. cit. P. 301.

150. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I, book V, (Verses 172-174), p. 209 and f. n. The author mentions that the King Samkara Varman fined those villagers who did not turn up to carry their allotted loads, by the value of the later at enhanced rates and the same fine was levied the following year a second time from the village as a whole".

151. Ibid., (verse 174).

152. The villagers were oppressed and forced to carry loads. Kalhana, op. cit. Book VII, Vol. II (Verse 2513), P.197 and f. n.

153. Ibid., Book V, verse 174, P.209. But in the absence of all historical data it is impossible to specify it. It had prevailed in the form of various requisitions on village produce. Lawrence. *The valley of Kashmir*, P. 414. 'The author has mentioned that the other side of begar consisted of various "requisitions for village produce" which the officials received in the form of wood, grass, milk, poultry, grains and in free labour while building their houses or cultivating waste land. This type of

begar has been called "Ahlkari Begar". Lawrence has also referred to three kinds of begar existing in 1892 A.D. in his letter to R.D.P. Suraj Koul, Revenue Member of the State Council dated 18-9-1832. See F/12/1892 (Pol. & Gen) *Rules For Beger and Transport arrangements.*

154. Moorcroft, *Travels*. Vol. II P. 294, writes about his passage through Dubjan that "some of the people accompanying us were seized by our Sikhs as unpaid porters, and were not only driven along the road by a cord tying them together by the arms, but their legs were bound with ropes at night to prevent their escape".

155. Logan, *Report*, op. cit. P. 29.

156. Ibid., Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 415. The author writes that the man liable to begar was an "out-law" without rights of any description, and begar was looked upon by the officials as an incident of selfdom which entitled them to take all things, either labour or commodities free of payment from the villagers. Such a system took all heart out of the people, and many villages, formerly famous for special kinds of rice or for fruits, rather than expose themselves to the constant exactions of the officials, took to cultivating more common kinds of rice and cut down their fruit trees".

157. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 412, writes about these exemptions as under "out of a total population of 814, 241, 52, 216 men are free because they are Hindus, 4,092 because they are Sikhs and 114,170 because they are Musalamans residing in the city and the towns... At the very lowest computation, I should think, that, out of a total population of 814,241,350,000 persons are exempted from "begar" by rule, and that another 50, 000 are exempt by favour. It follows that the incidence of "begar" falls with intense severity on the remaining 414, 241".

158. Wingate, op. cit., P. 37, writes "I rode through a particularly nice village with a little bazaar and the women and children looking to the trained observer in many little Ways

better off then the average. I said this village is doing very well but was answered at once it belongs to so and so, mentioning a well-known official. No collie can be served in villages so protected".

159. Logan, *Report,* op. cit., P. 29. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet,* pp. 68-70. "Such being the horrors of the transport begar and the Gilgit road, though the worst, is not the only in the state on which the system is conducted with cruelty-men are naturally willing to pay a good deal to be exempt from it, and this, of course, gives our typical official an opportunity he is not likely to miss. Most of the begar has to be carried on in the summer months, when the passes are open at the very season that the villagers are needed in their fields, the crops suffering from their absence. It is then that the grasping official swoops down on a district, and while raising the complement of men required by the state, levies black-mail from all the others. It has been calculated that for one man who is taken on this forced labour, ten purchase their immunity from the official, as much as one hundred rupees being paid in some instances. The village is thus impoverished and rendered incapable of paying share of revenue to the state".

"All Hindoos were exempted from forced labour, the burden falling on Mohammadan villagers only. Some of these also escape it, for it occasionally happens that a whole village is sold by its cultivators for a nominal sum to some influential Hindoo, on condition that he obtains for them exemption from begar, while they remain on the land as his tenants. So many others, more or less, fraudulent methods for attaining the same and are practiced that the incidence of the begar falls very oppressively on certain poor and unprotected village which cannot afford to purchase immunity".

160. Knight, E. F., *Where The Three Empires Meet,* P. 70.

161. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment,* op. cit. P. 73., Taylor, 28th June to 3rd July, 1847. Regarding Begar Taylor writes... "Raj Kak Dhar and Dewan Jawala Sabai came and said

that the Maharaja's idea was to establish a certain number of men, say three in a large village and one in a small one, who would be considered as liable to begares, that they should receive one kharwar of grain per mensum and their russud when employed, that a man should be appointed to superintendent the bearers of the whole country and the people be summoned by roll for the public service, that is the case of a men not having been called upon for begares in the course of the year, he was only to receive half the government allowance namely 6 kharwars instead of 12 if he had been once employed was to receive the whole".

Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, pp. 658-659, The author writes that the system of begar was reformed during the period under study. But it was rather fastened. Maharaja Gulab Singh collected one rupee as a cooliage tax from each coolie and thus collected Rs. 1400/- by sending gifts to Lahore and Jammu, Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated March 1850, f. 34, He even despatched cotton to Jammu through these begarics. Ibid., f. 36.

162. Robert Thorp, op. cit. pp. 73-74. "... since the full amount that an ordinary man can carry is given to the zamindar, and since little or nothing can be purchased on the road, it is obvious that he must either eat part of his load or starve".

163. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, pp. 658-659.

164. The system was worked out that "some one in Srinagar wants ten coolies or porters to carry his baggage for a stage or for one or more stages. The official to whom the requisition is made passes on the order of the district officer, and in order to make sure there will be no deficiency in the number of coolies writes that twenty men are wanted" and this process of increasing the number continued till tehsildar ordered eighty men to be collected and the bribes started, the coolies purchased their exemption and required ten to twenty were sent to perform begar". Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 412-413.

165. The kardar of a particular village sent them in charge of a Harkara to Bandipoor. There they received their loads with a

memorandum, from a Hindu official, of the amount they carried and had to deliver it to the Governor of Astor and from him they brought a receipt to be presented to the official at Bandipora. The journey from Bandipora to Astor took the villagers twelve days and they had to return after staying for few days at Astor. So it took a villager no fewer than fifty days to complete his double journey. Robert Thorp, op. cit. P. 73 and f.n.

166. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, f. 47 Dated March, 1849.

167. Ibid., Vol. IV, f. 21 and 40 dated 19 Feb., 1851.

168. In 1850 A. D. four hundred begaris were collected and sent to Gilgit (Vol. III, f.73, August 1, 1850). In 1851 A.D. thousands of the agriculturists were caught to perform the job. Saif-ud-Din, Vol. IV, f. 61, June, 20, 1851.

169. See Appendix No: VI, Table—Route from Srinagar to Chilas.

170. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IV. f. 61 dated June 20, 1851.

171. Ibid., f. 51, dated May 19, 1851.

172. Ibid., f. 77, dated August 4, 1851.

173. Ibid., Vol. IV f. 78, 84 dated August 7, Sept., 1, 1850.

174. The country is a barren one, with lofty precipitous mountain, narrow rocky gorges, swift glacier-borne torrents, and only narrow strips of cultivation around stone built villages. It is, nevertheless, of no small political importance.....' A Neve, *The Tourists Guide to Kashmir*, Skardu, etc., P. 131. See also Appendix No: VII, Table—Route from Srinagar to Gilgit.

175. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VII, ff. 26, 34 dated April, 16, May 18, 1853, Vol. IX ff. 50, 63 dated April 27, May 6 and May 25, 1856.

176. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit. P. 74.

177. Ibid., p. 75, Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. X f. 352, dated 22nd Dec., 1859.

178. Arthur, Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, P. 139.

179. "... the more mention of Gilgit was sufficient to drive whole villages to the hills, there to hide for days on end, until they were convinced that the danger of being pressed into service had passed". Dermot Norris, *Kashmir—The Switzerland of India*, P. 94.

180. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 413. A. Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, P. 140. The author writes that "the beqar coolies when ready to be despatched for Gilgit were Seen with a blanket spare grass-shoes, frame of sticks and rope in which to carry the load upon his back. A farewell service was held at a mosque for these poor creatures starting to the perilous journey. "Loud was the robbing of many and fervid the demeanour of all as, led by mullah, they intened their prayers and chanted some of their special Ramzan penitential pslams. Even the braver men then the Kashmiris might well have been agitated at such a time when t eking farewell of their loved ones, who would till their fields? What would happen durilg their long absence to their wives and children? In what perils would they themselves be exposed in the crowded bivouacs and snowy passes of that deadly Gilgit district?"

181. Arthur, Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, P. 60. writes about his passage through Rajdiangan Pass where "I heard pitiful their tales of the plight of the poor coolies dragged from their homes in hundreds every year to carry supplies to the far off garrison of Gilgit. And I could realise some of the difficulties, for the unmade track was not easy for well equipped lightly laden men, how much less for the porters, who had to carry sixty pound load in addition to their own personal rations for twenty days, clothing and grass shoes". Knight, E. F., *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 70. The Author writes that 300 labourers and their mules perished in a single storm on Rajdiangan Pass in autumn of 1890 A.D.

182. Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, P. 140, writes that while crossing Astor in the early eighties his old servant

pointed out to him the places where he had seen groups of corpses "on the Kamri Pass One of the camps was called "Murda dafan" meaning the "burial ground", for some Years previously an avalanch swept upon the party of soldiers camped there and buried them".

183. Robert Thorp, op. cit. pp. 76-77.

184. Knight, *Where The Three Empires Meet*, pp. 68-69. But there is a just begar and a begar that becomes the most harmful instrument that can be placed in the hands of an unscrupulous official. Many thousands of villagers have been driven off every year to toil as carriers of burdens of the Gilgit road. Gilgit is a name of terror throughout the state. An enormous transport service is needed, to supply the garrisons on the northern frontier with grain, and the Kashmir authorities have been utterly careless of the comfort and even of the lives, of the unfortunate wretches who are gragged from their homes end families to trudge for months over the wearisome marches of that dried country. They fall on the road to perish of hunger and thirst, and thinly clad as they are, are destroyed in hundreds at a time by the cold on the snowy passes. When a man is seized for this form of begaar his wives and children hang upon him weeping taking it almost for granted that they will never see him again. A gang of these poor creatures, heavily laden with grain toiling along the desert crags between Astor and Gilgit, on a burning summer's day urged on by a sepoy guard, is perhaps as pitiable apectable as any to be seen on the roads of Siberia. But these are not convicts and criminals, they are Mussulman farmers, harmless subjects of the Maharajah".

185. Ibid., pp. 67-68.

186. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit. Vol. II, P. 863. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 69.

187. *Annual Administration Report of the J&K State for 1890-91*, (S. 1947), P. 42, It has been related in the report that begar was minimized. But when a member of the State Council

(Khan Bhadur, Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din) entertained the idea of abolishing the begar system. Lawrence (Settlement Officer). in 1892 wrote in his letter to Suraj Koul (Revenue Member of the State Council) that the time has not yet come in Kashmir when Begar can be abolished".

188. F.84/P.86/1913.

189. F. 72/ C-57/1920 (O.E.R.)

190. F./68/Misc-73/1923.

191. *Administrative Report* of (S-1981-82) 1925-26. P.20.

URBAN LIFE—ARTS AND CRAFTS; TRADE AND INDUSTRIES

SRINAGAR

The city of Srinagar [1], the "Venice of the East" had remained the capital of the Valley of Kashmir most of the time and since very ancient times. According to Kalhana the city of 'Srinagar' was founded by Ashoka in 250 B.C. as his capital [2]. It was a site three miles from Takht-i-Suliaman hill in Pandrethan village [3]. 'Srinagar' remained the capital of Kashmir till the middle of the Sixth century A.D. when Prava-rasena II founded a new city near Hariparbat hill [4], which was known, after its founder's name, Pravarapura (shortened from prava-rasena Pura)[5]. The city extended only along the right bank of the river Jhelam (vitasta) [6]. Hiuen Tsiang, the first Chinese traveller who visited Kashmir in about 631 A.D. has referred to two capitals of the Valley- the old and the new and during his visit the capital of Kashmir was the new city [7]. This description can be an identification of Pravarasen's capital with the present Srinagar and Ashoka's capital with Pandrethan and its surroundings [8]. Kalhana has given a description of Pravarapura and has described the city having markets and huge buildings which reached the clouds and were mostly built of wood, he even mentions "the streams meeting, pure and lovely, at pleasure-residences and near market streets" [9]. It is evident that he refers to the numerous canals from the Dal Lake [10] and Jhelum river [11] which intersect the heart of the city. Kalhana further adds that these canals and rivers have served as the main thorough-fares for the market traffic and all the principal bazars and built along their banks. He has also described the 'Sarkaparvata' (Hariparbat) as the "pleasure hill from which the splendour of all the houses is visible as if from

the sky [12]. The abundance of magnificent temples with which successive kings had adorned Pravarapura are also mentioned by Kalhana [13].

The later Hindu kings, as reported by Kalhana, tried to transfer the capital from one place to another [14]. Lalitaditya [15] founded Parihaspura [16]. Jayapida laid down the city of Jayapura[17], Aventivarman founded the city of Avantipura [18]. Shankeravarman founded Sankarapura [19], Kanishka built Kanishkapura [20] and while Juskapura was erected by Juska [21] Hushkapura was funded by Huska [22].

The Pravarapura has continued to be the political centre of Kashmir down to the present day, which can be attributed to the position of Srinagar with great natural advantages of its site. Since it is situated in the centre of the Valley it enjoys the facilities of communications. The river Jhelum provides at all the seasons the most convenient trade and traffic route both up and down the Valley [23]. The Dal and the Ancher lakes which flank Srinagar, furnish an abundant supply of products which fulfil the needs of the city population. Srinagar is also a point, which commands trade routes to India and Central Asia [24]. The position of Srinagar is equally advantageous as it offers security against the floods [25] and armed attacks [26]. Nothing is known exactly about the extension of the city on the left bank of the river Jheḷum. The number of ancient sites on this Side is comparatively small. It was during the reign of Ananta (A.D. 1028-63) that the royal residence was transferred here [27]. During the later Hindu period Srinagar formed the principal charming city of Kashmir [28]. But this ancient name of the city fell into disuse under the Muslim rule (1320-1819) and instead the city of Srinagar came to be called by the same name as the country i.e., "Kashmir" [29]. But the Sikhs restored the old Hindu name 'Srinagar' and the city has since then been called by that name [30]. The city of Srinagar underwent a large number of changes with the establishment of Muslim rule over Kashmir. The Muslim rulers built mosques in Kashmir. Rinchina built "Bud Masheed" on the site of a Buddhist temple. Likewise many localities and

buildings were founded by the Muslim Kings. Sultan Sikandar built Khaniqah-i-Maula, which became the seat of religious and political activities of the Muslims. He also erected Jamia-Masjid[31]. Zainul-Abidin, popularly known as Budshah, built Zainakadal, ordered the digging of the Mar Canal, built two artificial isles of Rupa Lank and Sona Lank [32]. It was due to the efforts of Zainul-Abidin in the field of art and industries that Srinagar became the emporium of trade [33]. Sultan Haider Shah transferred his capital from Naushahr founded by Zainul-Abidin to Nowhatta. However, Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-84 A.D.) again shifted it to Naushahr[34]. In 1484 A.D. Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi came to Kashmir with missionary zeal and spread Shiaism in the Valley [35]. During Mirza Haider's rule there were many lofty buildings and there were no large bazaars because the whole sale business was conducted by the traders in their houses and factories [36]. Some changes were effected in the dress and diet of the people. During the Mughal rule the main centres of attention remained the Hariparbat fort, Tahkt-i-Suliman. Nowhatta, Nau-Shahr and Jamia Masjid area. It was during Emperor Akbar's rule that a stone wall was constructed around the Hari Parbat hill and a town was founded within the wall known as "Nagar Nagar" [37], in order to relieve the people of their sufferings. Jehangir (1605-1628) loved the Valley very much [38]. He constructed a large number of gardens [39]. It was during Aurangzeb's rule under the governorship of Fazil Khan (1698-1701 A.D.) that in 1699 A.D. Khawaja Nur-ud-Din Ishbari brought the "Mui-Mubarak" (sacred hair) of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) to Srinagar [40], which has been kept at Hazratbal mosque.

During the Mughal rule the city of Srinagar presented a charming picture. Abul Fazl writes Srinagar was a great city and had long been peopled. The river Behat (Jhelum) flow through it. Most of the houses were of wood, and some rose upto five storeys. On the roofs the people plant tulips and other flowers [41]. Bernier has described the Valley of Kashmir as the paradise of the India [42]. There were only two wooden bridges over the

Jhelum [43]. Under the Afghans (1753-1819 A.D.) some of the governors also contributed towards the construction of some places in Srinagar (called Kashmir) Amir Khan Jawansher (1770-76 A. D.) reconstructed Sona-Lank, rebuilt Amirakadal Bridge and constructed the fort of Sher-ghari [44]. Another Afghan Governor Ata-Mohammad Khan Barakzai (1806-13 A.D.) constructed the fort the Hariparbat hill [45]. But the city streets presented a picture of filth and there were four to five bridges over the Jhelum [46].

The Sikhs (1819-1846) restored the old Hindu name 'Srinagar' to the city. The city presented a sad picture of filth and dirt and the condition could not improve [47].

During the period under study (1846-1885 A.D.) Srinagar presented a picture of filth and decline [48]. The city was not drained and cleaned and no one cared for its improvement because the Maharajas had banished all thoughts of urban improvement and reconstruction from their mind [49]. The common features of the city were poverty, negligence, absence of drainage [50]. The houses were built of wood and sun-dried bricks, and looked shabby; the roofs were formed of layers of birch-bark covered with a coating of earth, where birds dropped seeds and had vegetables so were constantly over-run with grass end flowers [51]. The houses of better classes were generally detached and surrounded by a wall and gardens near a canal [52], which presented a picture of wretchedness [53]. The insanitary conditions and the filth resulted in the existence of a large number of pariah dogs, stauing donkeys and cows living in that filth [54]. These conditions adversely affected the health of the people and Srinagar appeared to be the nursery of epidemic of cholera which occurred several times since 1824 A.D. [55] Contagion was responsible for many of the local diseases such as opthalmia. Scalhead, and the itch [56]. Thus such diseases were expected and not to be wandered at [57]. The city of Srinagar also suffered terribly due to other natural calamities, the floods, the fires [58] and the famines. The famine of 1877-79 A.D. had the most disastrous effects on the city also [59], and the worst sufferers

were the shawl-weavers [60]. No doubt, the government tried to feed the city population but due to the bad means of communication, there was an alround scarcity of food in the city[61]. In 1868 A.D. a Census of the population of Srinagar was conducted which gave the figures to be 112,715 persons of whom 24,945 were Hindus and 87,770 Muslims. The number of the houses was stated to be 20,304 [62]. Before the famine, Dr. Elmslie had put the figure of city population at 127,400 so that the famine had removed 67,400 persons from the city. There were 30,000 t0 40,000 shawl-weavers in Srinagar and after the famine only 4,000 survived [63].

There were many market places and bazaars in the city. The streets were narrow and filthy [64]. The shops protruded themselves on to the streets [65]. In 1871 A.D. Maharaj Gunj [66] was constructed with a large quadrangle situated near the right bank of the river, between the Zaina kadal and Ali-kadal, forth and fifth bridges. It contained the shops of jewellery, silver-smiths and other tradesmen with whom European visitors usually dealt [67].

The most remarkable feature of the environs of Srinagar were the poplar avenues on the right bank of the river, between the south-east corner of the city near the Amira Kadal and the canal at the foot of Takht-i-Sulaiman hill. It was planted by the Sikhs. Its average width being 56 feet, it contained in all 1,714 trees, of which 1,699 were poplars and 15 were Chinars [68]. Another avenue was on the left bank of the river, near the west end of the Amira Kadal to the village of Wahtor on the road to Shupian, being 7 miles long and 12 yards wide, lined with trees on both the sides, chiefly poplars, most of them were planted by Wazir Pannu in 1864 A.D. [69].

There were many gardens on the out-skirts of the city especially on the bank of the river Jhelum. Bagh-i-Dilawar Khan situated on the Mar Canal, originally was constructed by the Pathans [70]. It was near Brarinambal, in the northern portion of the town, contained two small summer houses which were appropriated for the European visitors [71]. On the right bank of

through the bridge Tainki-kadal [99]. After its passage through Gulab Bagh, a branch to the west embraced the Diwan Kirpa Ram garden and above the Ziarat of Saiyid Mansur, the canal got split. The western branch known as Sonah-Kul, flowing under the Saiyid Mansur Kadal in a north-westerly direction, on the left Bank was the Colonel Beji Singh's garden, then it passed under Daresh Kadal and emptied itself in the Dudganga river above Chatta-kadal [100].

The main branch of the Kaet-i-Kul passed under Kani-Kadal and flowing under the Hajrathrani-Sumi bridge, through the garden-house of Mirza Mohy-ud-Din on the right bank and a shallow branch made its way towards the north and passed under the Sali Galwan, an old masonry arch [101]. However, the main branch took a western direction and passed through Bazegar Kadal, the banks, thereafter were raised high and supported by a stone embankment, which were in a ruinous condition. After passing through the Malik Sahib Ziarat on the right bank and the left bank being open and laid out for vegetable gardens, the canal flowed under the Watal-Kadal and then emptied itself into the Jhelum above the Safa-Kadal [102].

This canal was navigable for about four months, from April to July, and for the rest of the year its waters were directly and stagnant, but When full the canal was traversed by even the largest beats [103].

TSUNT-I-KUL

The Tsunt-i-Kul, or apple-tree canal, intersected the city on the right bank of the Jhelum river. It leaves the right bank of the Jhelum opposite Shergarhi below Besant Bagh [104]. The canal was connected with the Dal lake through flood-gate. The Gao-kadal, near Sher-Gerhi, which was embanked on both sides and lied with the trees. Its length from Jhelum to Dragjun or water-gate of the Dal was about 1 ½ mile. Its branch known as Sonwar canal passed from the Dal-gate towards southern direction at the foot of Takht-i-Suliman and the end of the poplar avenue and communicated with the Jhelum [105].

RAINAWARI CANALS [106]

The canal passed from the water-gate towards the northern direction through Rainawari and the suburbs lying at the foot of Hari Parbat. The canal flowed from Sindh near the village of Kanja. Passing over a platform it skirted the base of the hills past Ganderbal. The main banch flowed through the city supplying the water to the Jamia Masjid. Another branch passed to Telbal on the east, and the rest of the water passed towards the Nagar Nagar (wall around the Hari Parbat). The canal then flowed to the north-east direction and joined the Rainawari canal. The canal was spanned by a few bridges in its course and the most noteworthy was Naidyar, a masonry bridge of three elegant arches [107].

The river Dudh-Ganga was crossed by the bridges at Batamaloo, Zanpa-kadal, and Chatabal [108] bridge. The bridges over the Dal Lake were at Choudhari Bagh, Dudfakri Kadal, Nishat Kadal, constructed by Sultan Sikandar. The bridges near Khwajayarbal were Saida-Kadal, Nandapur bridge and Ashayi Bagh Kadal [109].

The most characteristic feature of the river scenes in Srinagar were the numerous wooden bathing cells moored before all city ghats, which had existed even during the Hindu times [110].

The ghats were known as the yarbal, the meeting place of friends[111]. These were the steps in a ruined condition and the people came there to bath, to wash their clothes and to fetch the drinking water [112]. The people got their drinking water from the rivers, canals and lakes which was dirty because all the impurities were allowed to flow into them [113].

Among the only few principal buildings in Srinagar were the barah-dari, palace, fort, gun-factory, dispensary, school, some ancient temples, mosques and graveyards [114]. The palace at Sher Garhi, situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, was the city residence of the Maharaja, with a fortress, not so strong, about 400 yards long and 200 yards wide [115]. Among the more important mosques of the city the most noteworthy were

Khanqah-i-Bulbul Sahib [116], Khanqah-i-Muala or Shah Hamadan[117] Masjid , Jamia Masjid, [118] Ali Masjid, [119] Nau-Masjid or Pather Masjid [120], Thagi Baba-Ki-Ziarat [121], Raintun Shah-ki-Masjid [122], Mosque of Akhum Mulla Shah [123], Khanqah-i-Makhdum Sahib [124], Mongri Masjid [125] and a large number [126] of other mosques were also to be found in the city.

There were also a large number of temples in the City but only a few survived due to various causes [127]. During the period of our Study many of the temples were erected by the Maharajas and their officials. Some of these temples built by Maharaja Gulab Singh were the shrines of Siva Jyesthesvara [128] on the Takht-i-Suliman, temple Maha Shri [129]. Kali Ghat [130] goddess of murder, Mandir Ghadhadarji [131]. Mandir Ganpat [132], Maharaja Ranbir Singh built Mandir-i-Ram Bagh, also known as Samat. Mandir Haba-Kadal Bala [133] Ranbir Swammer [134]., Bakshi Dar Ram Mandir, Malik Angar near Safakadal., Mandir Kripa Ram at Fetehkadal [135]. Mandir Chinkral Mahal built by Mian Pratap Singh, Mandir-i-Ahilimar built by col. Beja Singh at Sher-garhi. Mandir Amirakadal constructed by Diwan Anant Ram, Mandir Maisuma laid out by Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Mandir Rainawari, Mandir Gankhan, Mandir Bahuri Kadal were all constructed by Maharaja Ranbir Singh [136].

A number of gardens was also laid out during the period of our study. Ram Bagh was laid down by Diwan Kripa Ram, on the bank of Dugh-ganga river [137]. Basant Bagh, situated on the right bank of river Jhelum opposite Shergarhi, was laid out by Mian Kernail Singh. Gulab Bagh, situated near Tankipura [138], Hazuri Bagh, below Ram Bagh, were built by Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who also constructed Samander Bagh in Maisuma, Ragunath Bagh at Habak, near Bagh-i-Saif Khan, Kothi Bagh above Amirakadal on the bank of river Jhelum a, grand building and a museum, at Lal Mandi [139] were built by Ranbir Singh. Mirza Bagh by Mirza Saif-ud-Din at Tashwan, on the bank of Kaet-i-Kul, Shawl-Bagh constructed by Khawaja Sana-ullah Shawl a rich and famous trader, Bagh-i-Narsingh Aiyal neer Said Mansur's graveyard, Bagh-i-Diwan Lachmen Dass at Bota-kadal

and Bagh-i-Diwan Lachman Das on the bank of Kaet-i-Kul, and Wazir Bagh was carved by Wazir Pannu near Hazuri Bagh, Bagh-i-Maharaja Ranbir Singh and the Hospital near Musuem, Gogji Bagh on the northern side of Hazuri Bagh were also constructed by Ranbir Singh [140].

CRAFTSMEN, TRADE AND INDUSTRIES

From the very ancient times Kashmir was noted for its handicrafts and the chief centre of Kashmiri industries was, no doubt, the city of Srinagar but other localities [141] were also famous for their special manufactures. The people were ingenious, industrious and persevering. The beautiful environment of the Valley had inculcated a keen and intelligent appreciation for nature and its beauties in the minds of the inhabitants [142]. The Valley was much celebrated for the handicrafts and trade. Most of these arts and crafts were introduced by Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin during the 15th century [143]. When the city of Srinagar had become a thriving centre [144]. But such arts and crafts of Srinagar declined with the passage of time and the decline could, be attributed both to man and nature [145]. In the year 1846 A.D. there were, thirty-five industries in Srinagar[146], which were heavily taxed and these taxes were collected through Muqadams appointed by the government [147]. Lawrence has given the "real city population" as 118,960 who, were engaged in different occupations. This was the position when Lawrence was in the Valley [148]. The provision sellers, artificers, numbered 65,395 persons, the wool-industry alone accounted for 22,502 persons, tailors and dainers numbered 13.117. The dairymen 2.601, butchers 1,432., grain-dealers 3.437., vegetable-sellers 2059., fruit-sellers 1,348., tobacconist 945., sellers of fuel and grass 1,077.. gold and silver workers 1,827., embroiderers 1,027, copper-workers 606., carpenters 1,316., chemists., and druggist 557., boot and shoes makers 1.606 [149]. Among the learned and artistic persons (8,371 total), 6.519 persons were dependent on religion for their livelihood, literature accounted for 206, law fee 48 persons, medicine and midwifery gave occupation to 738 workers and dependents [150].

There were also 1,254 mendicants [151]. All the professions and occupations were heavily taxed by the government and yielded a large income to the state [152]

SHAWL-INDUSTRY:

The shawl-industry of Kashmir enjoyed a great fame from earlier times [153]. During the Mughal times the Kashmiri shawls were highly esteemed [154], and gave employment to a large proportion of the city population [155]. During the Mughal rule the shawls came into vague at the Mughal court [156]. Under the Afghans the industry flourished further when shawls were in great demand in Iran, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Russia.[157] The shawls were sold at different prices and George Forester hoped for the enhancement of its value [158]. The shawl trade seems to have been in a flourishing condition during the Sikh rule [159]. By the late 18th century A.D. shawls had become popular even in western Europe when Empress Josephine was presented a Kashmiri shawl by Napoleon Bonaparte [160]. From France the fashion of wearing shawl spread to other countries of Europe especially to Great Britain [161]. However, under the Sikh rule the condition of the shawl-weavers was bad., the weavers had to pay the taxes to the government. The karkhandars (owners of the factories) used to threw the burden of taxation on the shoulders of the workmen, the latter being under the thumb of the karkhandars were reduced to the position of the bondmen. Some of the shawl weavers severed their fingers by blows to escape the weaving for their Sikh masters by their karkhandars [162]. The daily wages of each weaver were four annas of which two annas were to be paid to the government by them. The system of taxation was devised in such manner that the weaver always found himself in debt [163].

The shawl manufacturing process needed a host of men, at various stages of manufacture, first two classes of people to supply two kinds of wool-Pashm shawl (or shawl-wool) fleece of the domestic goat and Asali-Tus (of wild animals as goat, sheep and others) [164]. The wool was mostly supplied by the western

provinces of Lhasa and by Ladakh and some quantities came from the neighborhood of Yarkand. Khotan and the families of the Great Kirghis horde, brought by Mogol merchants who exchanged it for the manufactured shawl-goats in Kashmir for Russian market [165] . The people who were involved in this industry were:-

Pashm Farosh:

The 'Bakil' (merchant importer) disposed his wool to Pashm Farosh (wool retailer) through a Mokim {broker) [166].

Spinners:

The wool purchased from the retailer by the spinner was bought by women for spinning into yarn [167]. Their first task was to separate the fine from the inferior wool and clean it in rice floor. The yarn was spinned on a very simple wheel, which was of many varieties [168]. The men called trekhans also spun the finest yarn and the little girls started spinning at the age of ten[169].

Tar-Farosh (Pooiwoine):

The Tar Farosh, usually called Pooiwoine by Kashmiris was a shopkeeper who purchased the yarn from the spinners and sold it to the shawl-weavers. He used to send his men to the houses of the spinners to collect the yarn [170].

Rangrez (Dyers):

The Rangrez (Dyer) was a professional person who professed to be able to give the shawls many tints [171]. Most of the dyes were imported [172].

Nakuta (Warp Maker):

The Nakuta [173] adjusted the yarn for the warp and weft. He received the yarn in hanks but returned in balls.

Pennekam Guru (Warp-Dressers):

The Pennekam Guru [174] applied starch to the warp. The threads were separated. He then dressed the wheel lot by dipping it into the boiled rice-water. Then the stain was squeezed.

stretched into a band and suffered to dry.

Beern Guru (Warp Threaders):

They performed the work of passing the yarns of the warp through the heddles [175].

Naqash (Pattern Drawers):

The work of the Naqash was fixed at the loom, and brought the drawing of the pattern in black and white [176].

Tavah Guru (Colour Caller):

The work of the pattern drawers was left to the colour caller. After considering it, he pointed out the disposition of the colours and started his work from the battom upwards by calling out each colour the number of warps required of different colours, till the whole drawing of pattern was covered [176].

Taleem Guru (Pattern Master):

From the dictations of Tarah Guru, the pattern master wrote down the particulars in a kind of character or shorthand and a copy of it was delivered to the weaver [178].

Tebgar (Silk warp Maker):

His work was to prepare the silk warp for the borders of the shawls. The warp differed in breadth [179].

Allakaband (Border Maker):

The silk was handed over to the Allakaband who reeled these and cut into the proper lengths [180].

The Shawl and the Shawl Bafs- (Shawl-Weavers):

The shawls of Kashmir were of two kinds-100m made and the hand made [181]. In the loom system a karkhandar employed the workmen namely shawl-bafs in his karkhana [182] (factory) and the number of these workmen ranged from 20 or 30 to 300 [183]. The karkhandar bought the spun thread from the Pooiwoine and got it dyed in different colours before it was distributed among the workmen. There were about one hundred karkhandars in

Kashmir [184]. At the head of about every 25 to 30 shawl-bafs there was an Ustad (master workman) to supervise the work and at the end of every month the Ustad took to "the Karkhandar an account of the work done during that time by each of the men under him, and was paid in proportion to the work done by him[185]. The sum usually realized by the shawl-bafs from the Karkhandars amounted to three to five chilkee rupees a month[186]. This sum was not "sufficient to support a family with any approach to comfort, even in so fertile a country as Cashmere"[187]. During the period under study rice was the government monopoly [188]. The government stored rice in granaries and a certain quantity was distributed among the shawl-bafs [189].

The life and condition of the shawl-bafs became worst when Maharaja Gulab Singh took the reins of government in 1846 A.D. The Maharaja levied 47.8 rupees on the weavers to be paid annually [190]. As the shawl was a considerable source of income, Maharaja ordered that no weaver could leave the work "whether half-blind or otherwise, incapacitated", without finding a substitute [191], and these weavers had to pay heavy exactions [192]. The shawl-industry brought nearly thirty-five lakhs of rupees income to the state [193].

During the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh their lot was unsatisfactory. The weavers were not allowed to leave the Valley or change their employer, "nothing but death can release him from his bondage", since the discharge of a shawl-baf would reduce the Maharaja's revenue of 36 chilkees a year" [194]. They were "physically and morally wretched", [195] became prey to many diseases in the "low-roomed and ill-ventilated abodes [196]. These oppressive measures and the exploitation [197] of the weavers resulted in the birth of a spirit of revolt among them. On 12th June, 1847, the weavers struck work, some of them fled from the Valley and demanded the reduction of the taxes of Baj, Nazrana and the raising of their wages [198]. The Maharaja drafted some rules and regulations directing the conduct of the shawl-system [199], and the weavers returned to their work. But in 1854

A.D. again a protest was staged by these poor creatures who demanded the raising of their wages by the karkhandars [200], and same happened in 1854 A.D. [201] Maharaja Ranbir Singh also announced the deduction of the price of Shali sold to the, shawl-bafs but nothing came out of it except that the officials got the benefit [202]. These Shawl-bafs waited upon the new Governor of Kashmir Kripa Ram on his arrival, but the latter told that he would listen to their complaints at Srinagar. On being approached at Srinagar he answered that "he would attend to them in a few days" [203]. Thus on 29th April, 1865 A.D., the shawl-bafs assembled together at Zaldagar Maidan in the city, to consider their wrongs and grievances. The processionists made a wooden bier, placed a cloth over it, and "carried it in the precession exclaiming, "Rajkak [204] is dead, give him a grave" [205] Raj Kak Dhar went to Kripa Ram and told him that the processionists wanted to attack his house and kill him [205a]. The Governor gave him some soldiers [206] to accompany him to the place. The follow up action resulted in the killing of many shawl-weavers, some of whom were drowned in the canal while many others were injured [207]. The organizers were arrested. A couple of them Rasool Sheikh, Abli Pal, Qudda Lala and Sona-Shah were severely punished [208]. Most of them died in the prison. The matter was reported to the Maharaja but no enquiry was held to investigate it [209]. The shawl-bafs were allowed to purchase shali at reduced rates and by the decree of 1st December, 1867 A.D. They were granted permission to purchase annually eleven kharwars of shali per family [210]. This proclamation established a court for the shawl-bafs under the title (Darogha-i-Shawl-Dagh), the incharge official was empowered to punish shawl-bafs and had about fifty sepoys with him during the day in the department to execute his orders [211]. In 1868 A. D. the Maharaja also remitted Rs. 11 from the tax of Rs. 49 on the shawl-weavers [212].

It was during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign that French trade was represented by many houses and their annual exports of shawls were said to be of the value of four lacs of rupees [213].

But inspite of this the shawl-industry declined and it received a death-below when war broke out between French and Germany in 1870 A.D. The French had no means with which to purchase Kashmir shawl as they had to pay a huge war indemnity [214]. There was still some hope for the revival of the industry, the Maharaja purchased the shawls worth lacs of rupees [215]. The famine of 1877-79 A.D. [216] crushed all the hopes of the revival of the shawl-industry. In the city the chief victims of the calamity were the unfortunate shawl-weavers [217]. A large number of these wretched workers died in the famine [218].

Hand Made Shawls:

The artisan producing the hand-made shawl was known as Sada-baf [219]. He made the plain pashmina from spun in his own house which he brought to bazaar. On the plain pashmina the workman called rofugar worked coloured threads with needles [220]. The sada-bafs were completely under the control of Daghshawl. They registered themselves with the department and could not leave the Valley or give up their employment [221]. No Pashmina was sold by him without the Dagh-shawl stamps [222].

Thus due to the decline of shawl-industry the shawl-weavers turned to other occupations such as sawing, carpet-weaving, and boating and a large section remained unemployed[223]. They could not work on roads or other jobs requiring manual labour due to their delicate physique [225], so they applied "their old, sedentary unhealthy life to form work and sit at the loom from early morning to night, with only a short respite for food, on wages of 1 ¼ annas per diem" [226]. They subsisted chiefly on mulberries and unripe apples in May and June [227]. So these weavers were reduced to destitution [228]. Owing to the harsh treatment, the shawl-weavers inflicted the injuries on their bodies [229].

CARPET

After the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin the carpet industry is said to have flourished for a long time, but with the passage of time it declined. During the reign of Jahangir, this industry

revived due to the efforts of Akhund Rahnuma [230].

The carpet industry received a great impetus due to the entry of Europeans into the field of carpet manufacture [231]. In 1876 A.D. M. Henri Danvergue established a factory at Srinagar[232]. The industry also. engaged Messers Mitchall and Co.. and Mr. C. M. Hadow [233]. The latter sent the Kashmir carpets in the big Chicago World Exhibition of 1890 A.D. [234]. The industry was of great value to the people [235]. It gave employment to a large number of people particularly shawl-weavers after the famine of 1877-79 [236].

The carpet industry was in the hands of both the independent worker and the factory owner. The former was "isolated, poor, ignorant and conservative". who had neither the resources nor the knowledge to take advantage of the improvements effected by the bigger manufacturer". He was "both the producer and the seller". The capital invested by him was small and so was his turn-over [237]. There was no question of competition between the large scale manufacturer and the petty isolated worker "because the independent worker produced inferior variety for the local consumers only" [238]. The pattern of the carpets after being designed by the artist, was committed to paper which contained a series of "hierroglyphies, intelligible to the craftsmen, indicating numbers and colours" [239]. The carpet weavers were paid very low wages [240].

Silk:

Mirza Haider Dughlat [241] (1540-50 A.D.) found the Sericulture already developed in Kashmir. Under the Sikh rule the quantity of silk produce was insufficient for domestic use [242]. During the early Dogra rule the silk industry was not organized. Mr. N. G. Mukerji, the expert on silk under the Government of Bengal, writes, "Before 1869 the silk industry of Keshmir had existed in the unorganized, crude state in which it had probably existed for centuries...."[243].

However, in the early Dogra period the government distributed the silk worms to the villagers while the latter used to

return the lot in cocoons or in cash payment [244]. After reaching the government Toshakhana (treasure) it was again distributed among the villagers for Weaving the silk [245]. In 1850 A.D. Maharaja Gulab Singh ordered Hakim Azim, the Controller of Sericulture Department, to distribute the state collected silk among the weavers of Daryayi and Khasih [246] (fine cloths). In 1859 -60 A. D., the total out-turn of the cocoon rearing was 19 maunds [247] and in 1860-61 A.D. it rose to 61 maunns [248]. The silk worm rearing gave employment to a large number of villagers also which was equivalent to their two months wages [248a]. In 1846 A.D. the government collected rupees 1,00,000 [249] as silk duty from the weavers and in 1847-49 A.D. a total tax of 4,000 rupees in cash and 3,000 [250]. kharwars of cocoon were collected from the peasants. Rahim Shah Hakim, the incharge of cocoon rearing stated in 1861 A.D. that in 1859-60 A.D. the total out-turn of cocoon was 19 maunds whileas in 1860-61 A.D. it rose to 61 maunds [251].

Maharaja Ranbir Singh made an attempt in 1869 A.D. to establish Sericulture on a large scale [252]. The Maharaja spared no expenses and built 127 fine rearing houses [253] in all parts of the Valley. Reeling appliances and machinery were imported from Europe and a large scale department was formed for the development of the business of silk [254]. However, the industry failed due to the main causes., first, the silk-rearers, known as Kiram Kash (literally worm killers) were given some privileges such as exemption from forced labour., they could annex the houses of villagers for silk breeding and also inform about the damage done to the mulberry trees [255]. They were hated by the people [256]. Secondly, there was no person with technical knowledge to supervise the industry and its houses scattered through out the Valley. The calamity of 1878 A.D. carried off the whole lot of silkworms by disease. Some efforts were made by Babu Neelamber Mukerji, Chief Justice of Kashmir, for improving the reeling of silk in 1870-71 A.D. In 1874 A.D. the silk reeling factories were set up, one at Cherapor in the Islamabad (Anantnag) tehsil and the other at Haftchinar.

Srinagar and both factories were called Murshidabad factories. A third factory was established at Raghunathpur, near Nasim Bagh and came to be known as Berhampore factory [257]. The Department of Sericulture deteriorated and the quality of the seeds diminished. The industry was left in the hands of the silk-weavers and till 1890 A.D. only two rearing houses had remained, one at Raghunathpura and the other at Cherpur [258].

PAPER

The paper-making industry was introduced by Zainu'l–Abidin from Samrakend and its workers settled in the Nawshahr[259]. Vigne states that there were five kinds of paper, the best among which was superior to that made in the plains, and it was manufactured in Kashmir [260]. Kashmir was famous for its paper which was much in demand in India for manuscripts and was used by those "who wished to impart dignity to their correspondence" [261]. It was famous for "its fine gloss and polish, its evenness and freedom from flows, also by its white wax-like colour and appearance" [262]. The paper from Kashmir was exhibited in the Lahore Exhibition of 1864. A.D., and it was recorded that this beautiful paper was "the best of all native manufactures" and it could be purchased everywhere [263]. It was durable and excellent.

In 1873 A. D. there were about 32 paper-factories at Naushahr and about 12 men were employed in each factory [264]. Lawrence had found thirty-six families in Nawashahr and each family needed fourteen members to work efficiently [265]. An average family made five dasta of good or seven of rough paper in a day [266]. It was a government monopoly, much of it was used by the government and the remaining was sold to the merchants and the government made payments to the contractors partly in cash and partly in kind [267].

GABHA AND NAMDAH

The Gabha (rug) industry was peculiar [268] to Kashmir and was not popular during the period under study. The Gabha was made of old woolen blankets in various forms and designs. The

Namdah (carpet-rug) industry was in its infancy under the early dogras. The best felts were imported from Yarkand [269], and of the inferior quality was manufactured in Kashmir but the coloured felts which were embroidered in Srinagar, were the most artistic textiles of Kashmir [270].

PAPIER-MACHIE

The lacquered work, or Papier-Machie enjoyed a great reputation and is said to have been introduced in Srinagar by Sultan Zeinu'l-Abidin from Central Asia (Persai). The craft was also known as Kar-i-Kalamdani (pen cases) because the best specimens of the work were the pen cases [271]. However, under the Dogras many other articles were also made within this craft such as tables, cabinets, trays, tea-poys, picture frames, candle sticks [272]. The papier-machie workers (Nakash) had also the art decorate the walls and ceilings of the richer classes [273]. The material required for the craft was paper (new and old) soft and light wood sheep leather for superior pen-cases, gold and silver leaves, glue, gypsnor, rice paste and gum [274].

PATTU (BLANKETS)

The Parganah of Zainagir was a well known centre for manufacture of Pattu, which was woven from wool of Kashmir home spun in Srinagar city [275]. The Village Mechmindar near Shupian was famous for the manufacture of blankets [276]. These were of two types tupes i.e., Ekbari [277] and Debari Pattu [278]. These were woven in natural colour (khudrang) or in White [279] and exported largely to Punjab. In 1848 A.D. the total annual expert of pattu to Punjab was of the value of about Rs. 40,000[280] and the government took 15 yards of cloth as tax from the weavers [281].

Silver Work

The silver-work of Kashmir was extremely beautiful. The exquisite design was found in the pattern of the Chinar and lotus leaves [282] and some of these products were exported to England during 1879 A.D. [283]. The silver-smiths worked with a hammer and a chisel and they very accurately copied the design given to

them. Lawrence remarks, "up to recent years, the silver work of Kashmir had a peculiar white sheer, very beautiful at first sight, but apt to tarnish after a short time. This, whiteness is said to be due to the practice of boiling the silver-work in apricot juice [284]. The silver put into work was not pure always, the metal was imported in ingots via Yarkand and was rupee silver [285]. The silver-smiths produced many beautiful things such as trays, goblets, tea-cups, jugs and scent-holders [286]. The five categories of persons were mostly involved in the manufacture of silver-work-Smiths (Khar) engravers (Naqash), Gilders (Zarkob), polishers (Roshangar) cleaners (charkqar).

Copper-Works

The copper-works of Srinagar had a great value [287]. The copper-smiths worked with hammer and chisels, worked both in brass and copper. They used once to be the silver-smiths. Their designs were bold and original and they could adopt any design given to them [288]. This work was admirably adapted for electro-plating. In the latter part of the 19th century there had risen a great demand for the beautiful copper trays framed as tables in carved walnut-wood, so carpenter is stated now to be "the close ally of the copper-smith" [289].

Wood Works

The wood-carving was a traditional craft of Kashmir and is said to have been introduced by Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin [290]. It was carried out mostly on walnut wood due to its durability and rich natural surface. After the weed had been engraved, it was polished with a fine piece of jade. Many designs such as Sosan, China, Badam Qacchi and Mazar-Posh were in vogue [291]. The Kashmiri carver was second to none in his skill as a designer [292], he worked with a hammer and chisels. The beautiful designs were seen in ceilings, known as khatumband [293]. M. Dauvergne had found such a ceiling also in Samarkand, Bukhara, Persia, Constantinople, Algiers and Maracco [294]. Different kinds of articles in woodcarving were manufactured during the Dogra rule [298].

Leather

In the city of Srinagar there was a large trade in leather industry [296]. There was abundance of raw-material. The watals [297] prepared the hides in the villages and brought them Srinagar where the tanners could turn out excellent leather [298]. According to Lawrence, the leather portmanteau and valise made in Srinagar stand an amount of rough usage, which few English solid bags would survive. the leather saddles of Srinagar lasted very long [299].

Furs

The livelihood of the furriers of Srinagar was chiefly dependent on the business given to them by sportsmen, who sent in skins to be cured. They had great skill in preparing the furs but their business get affected during Maharaja Pratap Singh's reign when the law for the protection of animals was passed, which prohibited the sale of the skins and horns [300].

Iron-work

There was little iron-work in Kashmir because iron was not plentiful but due to their natural skill the iron-smiths could manufacture agricultural implements, requirements for domestic use and all the surgical instruments used in the hospitals [301]. The black-smiths could turn out guns and rifles, with the help of a large number of instruments [302]. In 1848 A.D. Maharaja Gulab Singh asked the iron smiths to manufacture the cannon and guns and the guns in large number were manufactured in the enclosures of Pather Masjid in 1852 A.D. [303]. In 1860 A.D. the black smiths were asked by Ranbir Singh to manufacture the rifles, guns and other weapons of warfare and the workers were treated as state servants with the wages of Rs. 6/- to Rs. 8/- and Rs. 12/ per men [303a]. In 1873 A.D. there were about thirty shops of blacksmiths and gun-makers and each shop produced one to two rifles in a month for the Maharaja's troops. The raw-material was supplied by the Government which paid the worker rupees thirty chilkee for each rifle towards his workmanship [304]. The swords were largely made in Srinagar and were much valued at

Jammu. Many arms manufactured in Kashmir were, smuggled into Hazara [305], Peshawar and Kabul, but restrictions were imposed on such transactions. There were two Muslim firms in Srinagar namely Amira and Usmana who could turn out good guns and rifles and replace parts of weapons in so clever a manner that it was difficult to detect the difference between the Kashmiri and English workmanship [307].

Lapidaries

The lapidary workers of Srinagar possessed great skill and had produced specimens of their skill and taste, which were superior to any in Europe [308]. It was unique in design and there were various types of jewellery such as ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets, amulets (tawiz), rings, rosary (tasbih), tin or silver charm cases and head-bands. The Kashmiris were ingenious in this art and had a peculiar style of their own. In the plain gold they make every imaginable article of jewellery charging at the rate of Rs. 20 a tola (100 grains troy) for the material, and two annas on the rupee for workmanship. They sometimes, also induce precious stones principally opals, carnelians, blood-stones, agates, and turquoises. Bracelets and other ornaments are made of gold, silver, brass, copper, tin, and a fine kind of clay" [309].

Carpenters

The Carpenters were also the most important artisans of Srinagar [310], who worked with the primitive and crude [311] tools adze (tur) and chisel (torats) and saw was practically unknown [312]. The carpenters manufactured mostly agricultural implements, boxes, doors, windows but with the advert of Europeans into Kashmir, they also prepared chairs, tables, almirahs, sofa-sets, and other articles. The axemen and sawyers also worked with the carpenter. The fine-fingered shawl-weavers of the city were employed as sewers [313].

Calligraphy

The art of calligraphy (khushkhati) was also found in Kashmir from the Muslim rule and during the period under study

the scripts generally used in Kashmir were Kufi, Naskh, Makramat, Suls, Riqa and Railan in Arabic and in Persian these were Mastaliq, Shikast Gulzar, Nakhun, Shikast amriz, and Shafia [314].

Calico-Printing

The calico-printing was extensively carried on in Srinagar, where the coarse cloth locally manufactured was used and the patterns were similar to the shawl designs and the colours used were indigo, safflower, madder, red and yellow [315].

Basket-Making

The basket industry was of great importance and in most villages the artisans made the basket for the kangri (fire-pot) and for agricultural purposes and the kiltas, which were used for the transport of apples and other village works. The superior kiltas with leather cover were made in the city and were known to the European travelers [316].

Pottery

The earthen pots made by the potters (kral) of fine clay were used by all the Muslims and Hindus. They supplied the wants of the rural population [317]. It was found that the wares made by the village potters had a ready market in the city, so the village had a ready market in the city. In Srinagar the best pottery was made in Rainawari, [318] also called Kralyar (the place of potters).

Soap

In Kashmir, two kinds of soap was manufactured-one prepared from oil which yielded a coarse soap was called tila-sabun and safid-sabun [319]. In 1850 A.D. two Kashmiris namely, Maqbool Shah and Gaffar Khan led by Kumeden Devi Singh, approached the Maharaja Gulab Singh and offered to pay the state Rs. 1,500/- against Rs. 900/- paid by the manufacturers, if they were entrusted with the monopoly of soap manufacture [320]. It was accepted by the Maharaja and even in 1890 A.D., they had the monopoly on the soap manufacture [321].

Trade

Kashmir, due to its remoteness was to a great extent a self-supporting country but still it developed its trade relations with the outside world [322]. Many able-bodied Kashmiris went in winter to Punjab to work as coolies carrying with them the local produce for sale and returned with the "commodities which were light to carry and which would either be used by their families or sold to others" [323]. The professional muleteers, Markhban also carried on trade in Kashmir [324].

The bulk of Kashmir's trade was carried on with Punjab. Ladakh and Afghanistan [325]. The external trade of Kashmir was carried in through three routes-Banihal pass to Jammu and Amritsar., Pir Panjal and Bhimber to Gujarat., Jhelum Valley Road-Baramulla, Muzaffarabad and Mansera to Peshawar [326].

The chief trading centres in Kashmir were Srinagar. Baramulla, Islamabad, Shupiyan., and Bandipur where the Punjabi traders had set up their business. They imported manufactured cotton and piece goods, brass, copper, iron, salt, sugar, tea tobaccos and petroleum from various parts of India, and exported to Punjab non-in-toxicationg drugs, fibres, fruits, hides and skins, ghi, linseeds, rape-seed and Jingli, wool raw and manufactured [327].

The exports from Kashmir to Ladakh comprised such items as saffron, rice, quince, seeds, honey. tobacco, currants-dried. apricots, butter, pashmina, guns, and pistols, swords. stone-vessels, skins and shoes and the chief imports were tea, bhang, pushm, wool, soda. felts, chudders, carpets, barox, apricots dried, Mushru [328].

There were some custom-posts where the government levied its duty on the imports and exports of Kahmir. These were at Baramulla, Matigam, Ganderbal, Kachihama, Tosa-maidan. Ferozpur, Hirapur, Pir Panjal, Saidu, Garhi, Painu, Verinag. Banihal, Islamabad, [329] Deogol, and Shahabad [330].

The most important of the indigenous traders of Kashmir was the Bani or Bakal who carried on trade in salt oil, spices.

snuff, sugar and tea and European or Indian cotton piece-goods[331]. The Wanis left the external trade in the hands of Punjabis because they lacked in enterprise and capital so do not "engage in large trade operations" [332]. This was all due to the administrative system. During the period under review "the development of legal trade has been utterly checked by the system under which the state itself monopolized all trade" [333] and there was very little private trade. The grain dealers of Srinagar had a precarious position because they never knew how much grain the state would bring to the city and the prices were also fixed by the government whenever it liked [334].

The chief means of transport was the water-ways where the boats were used as load carriers both for internal and external purposes [335].

The value of exports form Kashmir to Punjab exceeded that of the imports, while the value of the Imports from Ladakh was generally in excess of the exports [336].

Thus the trade in Kashmir during the period under study was not on a better footing. The middleman [337] worked as the bania in the rural India, who always held them in debt. No artisan in Srinagar worked unless he received an advance for food from the middleman. The merchants of Kashmir kept no stock for want of capital and absence of enterprise and energy [338]. The surroundings of the artisans were miserable and squalid, and it was "sad to contrast the beauty of the art work with the ugliness of the workmen's lives [339]. The sweated labour was to be met with in most of the karkhanas [340]. The workmen got hardly sufficient means to keep themselves alive and profits were made by the middleman. This was all due to the state policy of monopolizing various traders [341]. The famine of 1877-79 A.D. deteriorated the manufacturers and the trade of Kashmir, a large proportion of people died and there was also the difficulty of procuring carriage at a time when nearly all that was obtainable in the country was employed in transporting grain into the Valley[342].

Currency

The currency system of Kashmir was in confusion and there was a wide excitement among the traders because there were various coins in circulation [343]. The first type was old Hari Singh rupee or a Kham rupee worth the value of eight annas. It was introduced by the Sikh Governor Sardar Hari Singh, in 1821 A.D. [344]. These were few in number and had in most part full weight and good metal [345]. The old chilki rupee was issued by Maharaja Gulab Singh and originally valued at ten annas but the dishonest officials incharge of debased that old chilki rupee and the government was compelled to lower the value to eight annas but the quantity of ally in them varied to the time of several annas in a rupee. still the Kashmir silver-smiths easily imitated the device and used their own coins mixing as much copper in them as it suited their purpose [346]. In 1880 A.D. these were also in circulation for the petty trades because they were spread allover the country [347]. The new chilki rupee was issued by Maharaja Ranbir Singh in about 1868-70 A.D. and it valued ten annas. These were of full weight and good metal [348]. The Nanak Shahi rupee worth the value from 12 to 16 annas, was passing out of circulation [349]. The villagers usually used the kham or chilki rupee. The English or double rupee was rarely imitated and freely taken. But the chilki rupee was widely in vogue in the country. The timely monetary changes disturbed the normal business, which came to a stand-still [350].

Weights and Measures

The traditional measure for weighing the grain and articles of food and also land was the kharwar [351] (ass-load). The kharwar was divided into 16 traks, the trak into 4 manwattas or 6 seers (Kashmiri). The manwatta was divided into 2 (neem) manwattas and the seer into 4 paus or pals [352]. One pau divided into 4 chattaks and one chattak was equivalent to the weight of one kham rupee [353]. The Kashmiris did not use dry or liquid measures for weighing grain and similar solid or fluid articles. Still we find some liquid measures in vogue as vegetable oil was sold by measure known as "paji" which was equivalent to 4 seers

(Indian) and six seers Kashmiri [354].

The land was measured not by length and breath but by the amount of seed required by certain areas of rice cultivation[355]. Thus the area of land requiring one kharwar of paddy seeds was known as a kharwar of land which was equivalent to four British acres or 32 kanals. One trak and Manwata of land was equivalent to 2 kanals and 10 marlas respectively [356]. There were also some local measures of land [357]. The floating gardens were measured by local system of "purnis"[358].

The measurements of length were kro, tenabs, gaz. The kro was equivalent to 10 tenabs, one tenab to 400 gazs and gaz contained 33 inches so the kro was equal to 11,000 feet, or 2 miles 146 yards [359].

The rice-straw was weighed in phulas, Gaddi and khuru one khuru consisted of 2 gaddis and a gaddi was equal to 6 phulas [360]. The calculations were made in the decimal notation and Arabic ciffer [361].

The time was measured by the Kashmiris with a copper bowl perforated with a little hole, which, placed in a vessel of water, gradually filled and sank. The Kashmiris called this instrument as gair [362].

The money economy was mostly non-existent and the salaries were paid in grain [363]. The oil-seeds were looked upon as an appreciated currency, the maize and singhara nuts were also paid to the person but were regarded as a depreciated medium. Even the private persons paid their servants in grain and the silver played a subsidiary part in the business of the country [364].

References

1. "Its present appellation is generally supposed to signify "the town of Surya, or the Sun" or it may be derived from Sri, or Shri, a title of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu, the goddess of

prosperity" and means the fortunate City. Stein, *Memoir on Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, pp. 440-441.

2. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I, P. 19, (BK, I, VS.104).

3. Stein, op. cit., P. 440., The name Pandrethan has been derived from the Sanskrit word Paranadhisthana.

4. Ibid., Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100, (BK, III, VS 336-338.)

5. Ibid.,

6. Ibid., Stein, op. cit., P. 442.

7. Stein, op. cit., P. 439., The author writes that Hieun-Tsiang records "it as situated along the bank a great river i.e. the Vitasta, 12 or 13 li long from north to south and 4 or 5 li broad from east to west. About 10 li to the south east of this, 'the new city'. The Chinese measurement of 12 or 13 li represents two, and a half mile and 4 or 5 li represent one mile.

8. Ibid.,

9. Stein, op. cit., P: 444.

10. The Dal Lake is situated at an altitude of 5200 feet above the sea level and is considered to be one of the very beautiful spots in the world. It is about 5 miles long and two and half miles broad with an average depth of about 10 feet. Its area, as estimated by Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 20, f.n., was 9.9846 square miles, of this area 1890 acres consist of demb or fixed cultivation, so the total area of the Dal Lake under water and floating gardens was 7,0346 square miles. Many streams feed it, its water, being clean and soft, was famous for shawl washing. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. II., P. 129.

11. The Jhelum, "Behat" (contraction of the Sanskrit) Vitasta drains the whole Valley of Kashmir. It rises from the spring of Verinag at the south-east end of the Valley and flows in a north-western direction through Srinagar into the Wular Lake and beyond, before crossing through the Baramulla gorge into Pakistan. It receives the Lidder and the waters of the Kishen Ganga while winding its way down the Valley. Its length from

Verinag pool to Baramulla is 150 miles. Cunningham, *Ladakh. Phyical Statistical and Historical with notices of the Surrounding Countries*, P. 112. Before reaching Srinagar it is joined by a stream which drains the Dal Lake to the east of the city. The surplus waters of the lake flow out towards the Jhelum by a canal which is called Tsunth Kul. A large stream called Dudganga, formed by the waters of several streams that drain the south-western mountains, joins the Jhelum on the left bank in Srinagar, Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 19-20.

12. Stein, op. cit., P. 44.

13. Ibid., Stein has identified Kalhana's description of a large number of buildings and sites in the Pravarapura, See Ibid., pp. 446-152.

14. Ibid., pp. 444-45.

15. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, BK, IV, VS 310-320., Vol. I, pp. 151-152.,

16. Kak, R.C., *Ancient Manuments of Kashmir*. P. 146., The ancient remains of parihaspura may be found near the present Shadipur village, about 9 miles in a direct line to the north-west of Srinagar. Lalitaditya "and his ministers seem to have vied with each other in embellishing the new city with magnificent edifices which were intended to be worthy alike of the Kings glory and the ministers affluence".

17. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, BK, IV, VS, 506., Vol. I, P. 167. The town was founded near the village Andarkot, situated on the Sumbal Lake, 74 42, long 34 13' lat.

18. Ibid., BK, V, VS, 44-45, Vol. I., P. 191., Avantipur lies on the right bank of the Jhelum, midway between Islamabad and Srinagar. It is situated at the bed of the river 33 55' lat. and 75 3' long., at a distance of 18 miles from Srinagar. See *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, pp. 179-180.

19. Samkarpura lies on the Baramulla road, 17 miles from Srinagar, the temples built there are in a ruined condition, but the town never rose to any importance. It was called Patan and is

still called by that name. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini.* BK, V, VS 213, Vol. I, P. 213.

20. Ibid., BK, I, VS. 168, Vol. I., P. 30., It has been identified with the village Kanispor, 74 14' lat situated between the Vitasta and the high road leading from Baramulla to Srinagar.

21. Ibid., Juskapur has been identified by Cunningham with the vIllege Zukur, to the north of Srinagar, about four miles from Hari Parbat hill.

22. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 99, Sq., has Huskapura with Uskar, a village about two miles east of Baramulla, on the left bank of Vitasta 74 26' long. 34 12' lat. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, BK. I. VS 168. Vol. I. P. 30.

23. Stein, op. cit., P. 445.

24. Stein, op. cit., P. 445., The author writes that "The great trade-route from Central Asia debouches through the Sind Valley at a distance of only one short march from the capital".

25. Ibid., "The neck of high ground which from the north stretches towards the Vitasta and separates the two lakes, is safe from all possible risk of flood. It is on this ground, round the foot of the Sarika hill, (Hari Parbat) that the greatest part of the old Pravapura was originally built. The ancient embankment which connects this high ground with the foot of the Takht-I-Suliaman hill, sufficed to secure also the lowlying city-ward fringing the marshes of the Dal. A considerable area, including the present quarters of Khanyar and Rainawari (Skr. Rajanavatika) was thus added to the available building ground on the right bank and protected against all ordinary floods."

26. Ibid., P. 445., Stein comments on the strategical importance of the city and records that "with the exception of the comparatively narrow neck of high ground in the north, the Srinagar on the right river-bank is guarded on all sides by water. On the south the river forms an impassable line of defence. The east is secured by the Dal and the stream, which flows from it.

On the west there stretch the bread marshes of the Anchar close to the bank of the Vitasta".

"From the north, it is true, the city can be approached without passing such natural obstacles. But the map shows that just to the north of the Sarika hill inlets from the two lakes approach each other within a few thousand feet. The narrow passage left here could at all times easily be guarded".

27. Stein, op. cit., P. 446., Kalhana, *Rajat.* BK. VII. VS. 187 (Vol. I. P. 283).

28. Ray, Sunil Chander, *The Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, pp. 16-17.

29. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, P. 397., Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 183., Wakefield, *The Happy Valley*, op. cit., P. 91.

30. Drew, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, P. 183., Wakefield, *The Happy Valley*, P. 91.

31. Kak, R.C., op. cit., P. 86. The author writes that the Jamia Masjid, the largest mosque in Kashmir, has a quadrangle and roughly square in plan, its northern and southern sides being 384' in length. Its principal features are the four minars, one in the middle of each side. They are covered by a series of pyramidal roofs, which terminate in an open turret crowned by a high pinnacle. All these minars, except that to the west, which contains the pulpit, cover spacious arched entrances which are plain but very imposing".

32. Srivara, Jeina, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. Tr. Dutt, J. C., *Kings of Kashmira*, P. 127, 141-143.

33. Mirza Haider Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Eng. Tr. E. Denison, Ross with introduction by E. N. Elias, P. 434. The author who ruled over Kashmir (1540-50), A. D. records that "In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are, in most cities, uncommon....In the whole of Mavar-u-Nahar except Samargand and Bukhara these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are abundant. This is all due to Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin".

34. Srivara (Dutt), op. cit. P. 206.

35. Mirza Haider, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, op. cit. pp. 435-522.

36. Ibid., P. 425.

37. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Eng. Tr. Beveridge, III, pp. 817,827, 950.

38. Bernier, *Travels*, op. cit., P. 401, The Author writes that Jahangir made Kashmir "the place of his favorite abode, and often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kachemire".

39. Ferguson, James P., *Kashmir—An Historical Introduction*, P. 143,. The author gives the number of gardens nearly 800 in the neighborhood of Dal lake and the owners, the nobles of the court, were certain to follow the example of their master in making full use of the facilities that Kashmir so readily offers for pleasure-seeking and enjoyment".

40. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 549., The Author writes about the governorship of Fazil Khan that : –

"در عهد او ۱۱۱۱ه موی مبارک نبوی صلی الله علیه وسلم تمام در این
دیار فیض آثار به توجه خواجه نورالدین ایشبری نزول اجلال فرموده"

41. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 827-28.

42. Bernier, *Travels*, op. cit., pp. 391-98., "The capital of Kachemire bears the same name as the kingdom. It is without wells and is not less than three quarters of a league in length, and half a league in breadth. It is situated in a plain, distant about two leagues from the mountains, which seem to describe a semicircle, and is built on the banks of a fresh-water lake, whose circumference is from four to five leagues. This lake is formed of live springs and of streams descending from the mountains, and communicates with the river, which runs through the town by means of a canal sufficiently large to admit boats".

43. Ibid.,

44. Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. II, pp. 673-674.

45. Ibid., P. 726.

46. Forester, George, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, pp. 9-10.

47. Moorcroft, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 127-128., The author records that "the general condition of the city of Srinagar is that a confused mass of ill-favoured buildings, forming a complicated labyrinth of narrow and dirty lanes, scarcely broad enough for a single cart to pass, badly paved, and having a small gutter in the centre full of filth, banked up on each side by a border of mire. The houses are in general two to three storeys high, they are built of unburnt bricks and timber, the former serving for little else than to fill up the interstices of the latter, they are not plastered, are badly constructed and are mostly in a neglected and ruinous condition, with broken doors, or no doors at all, with sheltered lattices, windows stopped up with boards, paper or rags, wells out of the perpendicular and pitched roofs, threatening to fall... The houses of the better class are commonly detached and surrounded by a wall and gardens, the latter of which often communicate with a canal., the condition of the gardens is no better than that of the buildings, and the whole presents a striking picture of wretchedness and decay".

48. Taylor, *Diary*, op. cit., P. 37., The author writes that "the houses made of wood and tumbling in every direction. The streets filthy from want of drainage. I saw the houses of the shawl weavers from the outside, and thought they looked miserable enough..." The bazars did not look "well-filled and prosperous".

49. Temple, Sir Richard, Journals, op. cot., Vol. II, P. 94.,

50. Markham, F., *Shooting in the Himalayas*, P. 355., It has been stated in the work that "The city of Seerinugger, or Cashmere is a filthy poverty-striken place., albeit, its general appearance with the cedar bridges, noble rivers, numerous canals, and the towers of mosques rising throughout the city, is novel and picturesque. The great natural advantages that

Cashmere possesses, in her climate, soil and water, can not make one regret, that where the hand of heaven has been so bountiful, man should be so degraded".

51. Ibid., Mrs. Bruce records that the houses "look very shaky, withstand the constant slight shocks of earthquake better than more solidly built ones." See *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, pp. 171-172.

52. Ibid.,

53. Ibid., Mrs. Bruce, *Kashmir*, P. 32., Bruce writes that "The site of the old city was a far healthier one. The continual drainage from this town into the river, and its low marshy banks, made it very unhealthy during some months of the year. But the temptation to build a city on a river is always a great one, the advantages are so numerous, and it gains in beauty what it loses in health".

54. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 123-124., Lawrence, *The Valley*, P.35.,

55 See for details Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 34-35., 218-219. Khanyari, Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh, ff. 198-199.

56. 56. Neve, Ernest, F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, pp. 275-276.

57. Del Mar, Walter, *The Romantic East*, op. cit., P. 161., Neve, E. F..., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P, 273., The Author has quoted Arthur Neve who gives a panicky picture of Srinagar in 1888 A.D. and 1892 A.D., "In 1883and 1892 Srinagar was a "city of dreadful death" We are looking from the bows of our mat-roofed boat for the first sight of Srinagar, the so-called venice of the East. The turbid and lazy stream sweeps against the prow, masses of dirty foam, floating straw, dead bodies of dogs, and all the other garbage of a great city... upon one bank stands a neat row of wooden huts. This is a cholera hospital upon the other bank the blue smoke curling up from a blazing pile gives atmosphere and distance to the rugged mountains. It is a funeral pyre. And as our boats passes in the city, now and again we meet other boats, each with their burden of death. All traffic seems to

be suspended. Shops are closed. Now and again, from some neighboring barge, we hear the wail of mourners, the shricks of women as in a torture den, echoed away from the houses on the bank".

58. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh,* ff. 196-197.

59. Ibid., p, 251., *Khalil Mirjanpuri, Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* P. 314., Younghusband, *Kashmir,* pp. 162-163., The writer has recorded about the famine that some suburbs of Srinagar were tenantless, and the city itself was half destroyed". Trade had come almost to a stand-still. As a result "employment was difficult to obtain".

60. See for details Chapt.V, *Famine and Natural Calamities.*

61. Knight, E. F., *Where Three Empires Meet,* P. 43., See also Neve, E. F. *Beyond the Pir Panjal,* pp. 265-266.

62. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 223.

63. Ibid., P. 224., The author of the *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* pp., 773-774 writes that "According to the Administrative Report for 1873, compiled by the order of the Maharaja, the population is 132,581, of whom 39,737 are Hindus, 92,766 are Muhammadans, and 178 are put down as belonging to other castes.

This gives evidence of an increasing population, when compared with the results of the previous Census taken in 1866, which were as follows:

Number of zillas or divisions of the city	12
Ditto Mohallas or sub-divisions	277
Ditto Houses or sub-divisions	20,304
Ditto Shops or sub-divisions	1,037

	Population		
Muhammadans	Men	44,356	
	Women	43,414	87, 770
Hindus	Men	13,292	
	Women	11,565	24,857
			112,627

64. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 119.,

65. Ibid., P. 426. The author writes that "When cycling or riding on horseback in a crowded thoroughfare one is apt to knock baskets of wares off the shop fronts into the streets.

"On one occasion on a frosty morning whilst trotting down a narrow street my pony side-slipped, I was shot into a shop by the side of the shopman on the platform above, whilst the poney fell on his side under the platform, to the astonishment of the shopman and amusement of the neighbours. I was able to join in the laughter, as neither the poney nor myself suffered any damage."

66. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 851., Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, P. 202. The author writes:-

"درہمیں سال در محلہ گانی رٹھ منز کہ زمین وارثان خواجہ حسن باندی بود وزیر
پنوں از معتبران و تاجران شہر دوکان ہا تعمیر کنانیدہ مہاراج گنج نام نہادہ
و فرمان از عہد سلاطین سلف بروز جمعہ برائے نماز بطرف مسجد جامع میر
فتد و گردا گرد مسجد تا نوہٹہ آن روز بازار معتبر میشد ہر چیز درانجا حاضری بود ہر
کس را کہ حاجت چیزی میداشت درانجا خرید میکرد وزیر پنوں فرمان
در منع گرد بازار بروز جمعہ در مہاراج گنج مقرر ساخت"

In 1871 A.D. Wazir Panu confiscated the land of the successors of Khawja Hasan Bandi in the Mohalla Ganiatmanz and constructed a bazar there under the name Maharaj Ganj. Since the Sultanate rule over Kashmir the main and central market was Nowhatta and the neighbourhood of Jamia Masjid so there used to be every commodity available to the people on Fridays but Wazir Panu ordered that on every Friday the central market might be only Maharaj Ganj.

67. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 772; Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 115., Biscoe has recorded about this locality that "At this place we are at the centre of the city, where you find the rich merchants houses, and where you can very quickly part with your rupees in exchange for shawls, carpets, furniture made of walnut wood, richly carved, silver and copper ware, papier-machie, and articles of various designs".

68. John Ince, *Kashmir Handbook*, P. 16, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 772.

69. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 772.

70. Ibid.,

71. Ibid., Baren Hugel, Dr. Henderson and Vigne stayed in the summer house of Bagh-i-Dilawar Khan in 1835 when they stayed in Srinagar.

72. Ibid., pp. 772-773., See also, Miskeen, Mohy-ud-Din, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Vol. I, f. 34a.

73. Miskeen, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Vol. I, ff. 34b-35a., Mrs. Bruce, *Kashmir*, P. 32.,

74. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 775., See Lawrence, *The valley*, pp. 37-38.

75. Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 674., The Author writes that bridge was constructed in 1184 H which corresponds to 1770 A.D. while Miskeen, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Vol. I., f. 34b gives the date of its construction as 1188 H., (1774 A.D.)

76. Miskeen, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Vol. I. f. 34b, The author gives the date of its construction as 908 A.H. but according to Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. II. pp. 270-271., Habib Shah became the Sultan in 961 A.H. thus the above dates seems to be incorrect.

77. Miskeen, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Vol. 1. f. 34b.

78. Ibid., Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 192-193.

79. Miskeen, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Vol. I, f. 35a.

80. Ibid.,

81. Ibid., The author gives the date of its construction as 1083, H. whileas Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. II, P. 542 gives the date of its construction as 1081 H., which corresponds to 1670 A.D.

82. Ince, *Kashmir Handook*, P. 27.

No	Name	Length Yards	Breadth Feet	Number of Piers	Average depth of water Feet
1.	Amirakadal	134	20	5	
2.	Habbakadal	97	24	3	
3.	Fatehkadal	88	17	3	
4.	Zainakadal	96	24	3	18
5.	Hailikadal	82	17	3	
6.	Nayakadal	75	18	3	
7.	Suffakadal	110	19	4	

83. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 38.

84. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 36.

85. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 779.

86. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 36.

87. Ibid.,

88. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 89.,

89. Miskeen, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Vol. I, f. 35a.

90. Ibid., Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. II, P. 481., *Gazetteer of Kashmir end Ladakh*, P. 778.

91. Ibid.,

92. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 778.

93. Ibid.,

94. Ibid., P. 779.

95. Ibid., Miskeen, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Vol. I, f: 35a., The last seven bridges were constructed by Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin.

96. Ibid.,

97. Ibid.,

98. Ibid.,

99. Miskeen, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Vol. I, f. 35b., See also Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 69.

100. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 776.

101. Ibid.,

102. Ibid., pp. 776-778., Also see Miskeen, op. cit., Vol. I., f. 35b.

103. Ibid.,

104. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 777.,

105. Ibid.,

106. Ibid., pp. 778.

107. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 778.

108. Miskeen, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Vol. I, f. 35b.

109. Ibid.,

110. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. II, BK. VIII, VS 706., 2423, 1182., Stein, *Ancient Geography*, op. cit., P. 450., Kalhana has mentioned in the verse 706 the word Sarits-managrha, while in the. verse 2423, he has referred Snanakostha which corresponds to the present Kashmiri designation of the bathing huts on the river as Sran-Kuth.

111. Ibid., Ghat was the "favourite meeting place of the idle and curious: See also Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 38.

112. Ibid., *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 785., It was recorded that "The inhabitants of Srinagar obtained their supplies of drinking water almost exclusively from the river and canals, or from the lakes., that from the Gagribal, at the south-east corner of the Dal, being considered the best. There are a few wells in the city in gardens, and attached to the Masjids and hammams, but well water is only used for purposes of irrigation and ablution".

113. Ibid., The Gazetteer remarks that "The water of the Jhelum must necessarily be very foul, being charged with the impurities, not only of the capital, but also of the towns and villages situated on its banks., it is, however, highly esteemed by those who use it".

114. Temple, S. Richard, Journals., op. cit., Vol. I, P. 288., Ince, *The Kashmir Handbook*, P. 128., Wakefield, *The Happy Valley*, op. cit., P. 109.

115. *Gazetteer of Kashmir, and Ladakh*, P. 783., Del Mar, *The Romantic East*, P. 164.,

116. The mosque was situated at Bulbul Lanker, on the right bank of the Jhelum, 200 yards below Ali Kadal. It has been built by Ranchina, and was considered to be the first mosque in Kashmir built to remember the Fakir Sayyid Bulbul Shah. See Miskeen, op. cit., f. 23b., Also See *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 781.

117. Ibid., It was situated on the right bank of the Jhelum below Fateh Kadal, constructed chiefly of deodar wood. It was originally a temple constructed by Pravaresena II and was named Kalishri but later on Sultan Sikandar constructed a mosque there under the influence of Hazrat-i-Amir-i-Kabir, See also Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 178., Younghusband, *Kashmir*, pp. 71-72., See also Del Mar, *The Romantic East*, pp. 165-169.

118. It was situated to the north of the town, a short distance from the right bank of the Jhelum. The foundation being stoned but the roof supported by 391 pillars. In ancient times it was the temple of Mahashri, which was later converted into mosque by Sultan Sikander. The Sikh rulers closed the mosque and was re-opened by their Governor Sheikh Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 780., Miskeen, op. cit., Vol. I, f. 256., Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 71.

119. Ibid., The mosque was situated at the north end of the Idgah, bearing an Arabic inscription stating the mosque to be built in the time of Sultan Hasan, Badshah, by Qazi Husli Sonar,

about 1417 A.D. See also Biscoe. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 117-118.

120. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 781., It was situated on the left bank of the river Jhelum, opposite Shah Hamdan Masjid. It was founded in the reign of Jehangir, by his Queen Nur Jahan. As a result of a prejudice against the sex of the founder it was used for ether purposes. A curious tradition being aflached to the mosque. Nur Jahan when questioned about the cost of the mosque She said pointing to her jeweled slippers that it has cost "As much as that" When it was reported to the ulama they declared that it was not fit for religious use. During the period under study it was turned into granary and stable, Biscoe, *Kashmir In Sunlight and Shade*, P. 115., Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II.

121. It was situated on the left bank of the river, above Kaet-i-Kul, Ibid.

122. The mosque was built by Ranchina after embracing Islam. The name of the mosque was Masjid Ranchan Shah, "Rinchan" has been corrupted into Raintun, so was used as Raintun Shah Ki-Masjid. It is situated on the right bank of Jhelum, below. Ali Kadal. See also *Miskeen*, op. cit., Vol. I, f. 23b.

123. He was the tutor of Emperor Jahangir, built of black marble and stone but in a ruinous condition. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 781.

124. Ibid., a large wooden building of great santity among the Suni Muslims.

125. Ibid., It was situated on the northern portion of the town, south-east of the Bagh-i-Dilawar Khan.

126. See Miskeen, op. cit., Vol. I. ff. 23b to 28a.

127. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 245., The author has recorded that "it is scarcely possible to imagine that the state of ruin to which they have been reduced has been the work of time or even of men, as their solidity is fully equal to that of the most massive monuments of Egypt., earthquakes must have been the

Chief agents in their overthrow". See also Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 105-167.

128. Stein, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 452-453., See also Miskeen, op. cit., Vol. I., f. 28b.

129. It was situated on the right bank of Jhelum, built by Praversen converted into graveyard, wife of Sikandar buried inside and Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin lie- out. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 115.

130. Ibid., P. 114., It was situated on the of Jhelum below Shah Hamdan Mosque, the latter was actually built at site of the temple. The stream of water was Sacred to the Hindus who painted the stones around it with the colours.

131. Miskeen, op. cit., Vol. f. 30a., It was situated on the bank of the Jhelum near Shar-Garhi.

132. Ibid., It was built by Maharaja Gulab Singh in the Mohalla Ganpatyar below Basant Bagh.

133. It was situated on the right bank of the Jhelum near the second bridge, actually the construction was started by Wazir Pannu but completed by Ranbir Singh. See Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, f. 226.

134. It was situated at Dal Hasanyar, on the left bank of the river Jhelum, built by Ranbir Singh in 1877 A.D. Miskeen, op. cit., Vol. I, f. 30a.,

135. Ibid., Also see Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, f. 226., These four were built by Diwan Kripa Ram.

136. Miskeen, op. cit., Vol. I, f. 30a., It was the cremation ground of Gulab Singh and a temple was built there by Maharaja Ranbir Singh.

137. Miskeen, op. cit., Vol. I., f. 34 a., It was the cremation ground of Gulab Singh and a temple was built there by Maharaja Ranbir Singh.

138. Ibid., The author writes that Gulab Gagh was built by Maharaja Gulab Singh while Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*,

f. 226 attributes the construction of the garden by Maharaja Ranbir Singh.

139. Miskeen, op. cit., Vol. I, f. 34a.

140. Ibid.,

141. The manufactures of different articles in villages have been dealt with in the Chapter V of the book, *Village occupation.*

142. Sufi, G.M.D. *Kashir*, Vol. II, P. 560.

143. Mirza Haider, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, op. cit., P. 434., The author writes that "In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are in most cities uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window cutting (tabdan tarashi), and gold-beating. In the whole of Mavara-an-Nahr (trans-Oriana), except in Samarqand and Bukhara, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin".

144. Ibid., pp. 3-5.

145. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 373-374.

146. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 35-36., The author records that "Not only metals, the precious stones and all articles, including the necessaries of life and subject to such a payment but a tax averaging from one to two rupees per men sum per held is levied on all the classes of inhabitants (mentioned below) except on barbers and tailors:-

Dyer	Goldsmith	Cloth merchant
Blacksmith	Barker	Carpenter
Bunea	Potters	Baker
Saddle Maker	Wood-Seller	Corngrinders
Boatman	Inkstand maker	Paper-Seller
Butchers and Fisherman	Masons	Diggers of Wells
Seal engravers	Plate-sellers	Silk-traders
Coolies	Fruit-Sellers	Uttars
Confectioners	Weavers	Procuresses
Prostitutes	Dancing Girls	Leechmen
Leather-Merchants	Servants	Gun-Makers
Beathers, etc., etc., etc.,"		

147. Ibid.,

148. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 241., Following is the table showing the engagement of persons in different occupations:-

No.	Occupations	No. of workers with their dependents
1.	Administrative and Defence	10,482
2.	Employed in live stock rearing and agriculture	3,246
3.	Personal and Household services	11,660
4.	Provision-sellers, artificers & Co.	65,395
5.	Commerce and transport	8,309
6.	Learned and artistic professions	8,371
7.	Indefinite occupations and persons independent of work	11,497

149. Ibid., P. 242.

150. Ibid.,

151. Ibid.,

152. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 39. Also See *Details of taxes on shops, artificers and others*, pp. 439 – 441.

153. Mirza Haider, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, op. cit., P. 434. See also Khasta Hargopal, Koul, *Guldasta-i-Kashmir*, P. 86.

154. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Blochmann), Vol. I, P. 98.

155. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 402-403., The author has observed that "But what may be considered peculiar to Kachemire and the stape commodity, that which particularly promotes the trade

of the country and fills it with wealth, is the predigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to the little children".

156. Irwin, John, *Indian Embroidery,* P. 5., Lawrence. *The Valley,* P. 375., Lawrence has quoted M. Henri Dauvcrgne whose information about the Kashmiri shawls was considered more valuable. According to him "The Kashmiri shawl dates back to the times of the emperor Babar. The Mughal emperors were on their turbans a jeweled ornament known as Jigha, which in shape was like an almond. On the top of the Jigha was an aigretle of feathers. An Andijani weaver for Emperor Babar, and was as successful that the Jigha became the fashionable design in all searves and shawls. Many Andijani weavers were brought down to India and Kashmir by the Mughal emperors... at the present time there is a class of shawls and butadars made in Srinagar entirely from the Persian market".

157. Forster, *A Journey,* op. cit., Vol. 11, P. 22. The author has recorded that "In Kashmir are seen merchants and cornmercial agents of most of the principal cities of the Northern India, also of Tartary, Persia and Turkey who fit the same time, advance their fortunes and enjoy the pleasure of a fine climate and country over which are profusely spread the various beauties of nature".

158. Ibid., P. 21., Forester writes that "The price of the loom of an ordinary shawl is eight rupees, thence in proportional quality, it produces from fifteen to twenty, and I have seen a very fine piece sold at forty-rupees the first cost. But the value of this commodity may be largely enhanced by the introduction of flow work., and when you are informed that the sum of one hundred rupees is occasionally given for a shawl to the weaver, the half amount may be fairly ascribed to the ornaments".

159. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh,* f. 93., Vigne, *Travels,* op. cit., Vol. II, P. 124. According to the author "Runjit ordered a pair to be made, with patterns representing his victories, and paid down five thousand rupis, after deducting the duties".

160. Paris Gervis, *This is Kashmir,* P. 136., Irwin, *Shawls,* op. cit., P. 32., See also for details Sufi, *Kashir,* pp. 565-566.

161. Irwin, *Shawls,* op. cit., P. 46.

162. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh,* op. cit., f. 93., Under the Sikh Governor Diwan Kripa Ram there were two thousand shops of the shawl-weaving (Items) and their number increased under General Mian Singh. See, Khasta, Hargopal, Koul, *Guldasta-i-Kashmir,* P. 86.

163. Schonberg, *Travels in India and Kashmir,* Vol. II, P. 103. The author writes about the deplorable condition of the shawl-weavers that "The son, at five years of age, enters on the business of weaving and his wages are proportionate to his baby exertions. As he advances in growth and skill, his pay is raised subject to the usual taxation, and thus another human being enters on a career of wretchedness and rears children, Who in turn become heirs to his misery".

164. Moorcroft, *Travels,* op. cit., pp. 165. 166.

165. Ibid.,

166. Ibid.,

167. Ibid., P. 168., The author writes that during the Sikh rule a Pal (unit of weight equal to 3 ½ Mahmud Shahi Rupaiya also called pauo) of white wool was sold for six tangas.

168. Moorcroft, *Travels,* op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 170-171. The writer has described three types of the wheel used by the women for spinning who spun till late in the moonlight when the oil for lighting the lamps was not available.

169. Moorcroft, *Travels,* op. cit., Vol. II, P. 174., He writes that "About one-tenth of this number are supposed to spin for the purpose of obtaining shawls for themselves, or for other members of their families, and nine-tenths to earn their livelihood". Also see, Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment,* op.. cit., P. 62.

170. Ibid.,

171. Moorcroft, *Travels,* op. cit., Vol. II, P. 175., He states

that the Rangrez professed to give sixty-four tints to it.

172. Ibid., P. 176.,

173. Ibid., P. 176.,

174. Ibid., P. 177.,

175. Ibid.,

176. Ibid., P. 179. See also Irwin John, *Shawls,* op. cit. P. 7 (f.n.), Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* op. cit., P. 56.

177. Moorcroft, *Travels,* op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 179-180.

178. Ibid., P. 180. See also Irwin, John, *Shawl,* op. cit., P.7.

179. Moorcroft, *Travels,* op. cit., Vol. II, P. 177.

180. Ibid., P. 177.

181. Robert Thorp, *Kashmere Misgovernment,* op. cit., pp. 62-71., Dugsal, *Letters from India and Kashmir,* P. 205.

182. Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories,* P. 179. The author has related the worst condition of these karkhanas (factories) or houses where these shawl-bafs worked that "These men spend long days in the low, crowded factories where the air is very impure especially in winter, they keep the place close for warmth and in the absence of ventilation the atmosphere becomes very highly vitiated. This and the constancy of the sedentary employment has acted on the physique of the shawl-weavers. They are a class whose shallow complexions and weak frames contrast strongly with the robustness of most other Kashmiris".

183. Robert Thorp., *Kashmere Misgovernment,* op. cit., P. 62.. See also, Bates. op. cit. 53., Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. III, dated Jan., 1, 1850. f.4.

184. Ibid, Robert Thorp says that "all the karkhandars lived either in Srinagar or Islamabad. But the houses in which these shawl-bafs worked were in different parts of the country but most of these were in the towns of Pampur and Sopore".

185. Ibid., P. 63.

186. Ibid.,

187. Ibid.,

188. See for details Chapt.V of the book.

189. Robert Thorp, *Kashmere Misgovernment,* op. cit., P. 66., The author has given the manner in which shali (paddy) was sold to the shawl-bafs. It is as follows "On the arrival of the grain in Srinagar, a large amount is set aside for the shawl-bafs, portions of it are from time to time made over to the darogha for them. When that official receives an order so much shali from the Governor he takes his accounts, and writes orders for each of the karkhandars entitling them to receive so much rice, According to the number of men in their employ, from certain specified boats. The karkhandar, on receipt of the order sends for the boat or boats named, and distributes the rice to his shawl-bafs keeping an account of the amount delivered to each, to be deducted from his monthly wages, the karkhandar being himself charged with the total cost of the rice in his account with the darogha".

190. Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl,* P. 9., Robert Thorp, *Kashmere Misgovernment,* op. cit., P. 63.

191. Ibid., Robert Thorp, *Kashmere Misgovernment,* op. cit., P. 67.

192. Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl,* P. 9., The author points out that "on top of this, an valorem duty of 25 percent was charged on each shawl., and its assessment and collection was farmed out to a corrupt body of officials, whose own illegal exactions were said to have amounted to a further 25 percent of the value". See also *Kashmere Misgovernment,* op. cit., op. 67., Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 254.

193. Khasta, Hargopal Koul, *Guldast-i-Kashmir,* pp. 86-87.

194. Robert Thorp, *Kashmere Misgovernment,* op. cit., P. 68., Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade,* pp. 115 and 238-239., The author writes that the condition of the shawl-weavers was pitiable, were practically slaves and were never allowed to leave their country. Biscoe, pp. 238--239., gives concrete instance of this and writes "... the late Rev. W. Z. Stores told me that when he was chaplain in Kashmir he was leaving the country by the

Pir Panjal route, when at the pass his progress was blocked by a guard of sepoys who told him to hand over his coolies, as they were not allowed to leave Kashmir, being shawl-weavers who had offered themselves as coolies, hoping that under the shadow of a British they might escape to India, and further ordered the cook's wife who was with the party, to return. She had dressed herself in Punjabi woman's clothes in the hope to escape".

195. Richard Temple, *Journals,* cit., Vol. I, P. 276. The author writes that it formed "a numerous anti withal a miserable class, badly paid, badly nourished and badly housed and therefore, physically and morally wretched".

196. Robert Thorp, *Kashmere Misgovernment,* op. cit., P. 68., Dates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 33 &, The author has quoted Dr. Elmislie who writes about the shawl-bafs that "they were the most miserable portion of the population, both physically and morally, crowded together in small and badly ventilated workshops, earning a mere pittance, and insufficiently nourished, they suffered from chest infection, rheumatism, and scrofula. When a women wished her neighbour ill, she said, "May you get a shawl-maker for a husband".

197. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. VII, dated 19 June, 1854, ff. 146-147.

198. Pannikar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State,* pp. 130, and 199., About 4,000 left their work and set out for Lahore.

199. Ibid., P. 139.

200. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. VI, dated Jan. 22,23, 1853, ff. 9-10.

201. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznemcha,* Vol. III, dated 8 Feb., 11, July, 1854, ff 44 and 160-16. As a result, of the complaints of shawl-weavers the wages of the weavers were raised to 1½ annas., See also, Vol., Dated April 18, 1857, f. 73.

202. Robert Thorp, *Kashmere Misgovernment,* op. cit., pp. 64-65.

203. Ibid., P. 65., See Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit., Vol. II. pp. 847-848.

204. Head of the shawl-department, son of Pandit Birbal Dhar.

205. Robert Thorp, *Kashmere Misgovernment*, op. cit., P. 66.

205a. Ibid., Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 840.

206. Robert Thorp, *Kashmere Misgovernment*, op. cit., P. 66. The author gives the number of soldiers with Raj Kak as 300 to 500.

207. Ibid., Mirjanpuri, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol. II, P. 310., Khasta, Hargopal, Koul, *Guldasta-i-Kashmir*, P. 220. The author puts the number of drowned in the in the canals (kut-i-kul and Sonar kul) at twenty-seven.

208. Hirjanpuri, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol. II, P. 311.

209. Robert Thorp, *Kashmere Misgovernment*, op. cit., P. 66., The author has recorded that about a month and a half after the rising, "Raj Kak did really die-with unavailable feelings...".

210. Ibid.,

211. Ibid., P. 67, In the Department of shawl there was an element of officials from outside, which is quite evident from the fact that in 1861 A.D. the contractors of the revenue from shawl were Devi Shah and Pratab Shah. Qamar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XIII dated 24 Sept., 1861, f. 116.

212. John Irwin, *Kashmir Shawls*, op. cit., P. 9.

213. Dugsal, *Letters from India and Kashmir*, letter XVII, P. 206, Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IX, dated 18 April, 1856., f.46., even in 1856 A.D. the French-shawl merchants came to Srinagar to buy the shawls.

214. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 115-116., Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 375., Lawrence has recorded that "....I have been told by an eye-witness of the intense excitement and interest with which the Kashmiri shawl-weavers watched the fate of France in the great struggle-bursting into tears and loud

lamentations when the news of Germany's victories reached them".

215. Betes, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 59.

216. Full details of the famine have been given in Chapter V.

217. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 215-224. and 375., See also Khasta, Hargopal Koul, *Guldast-i-Kashmir*, P. 87.

218. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 224.,

219. Robert Thorp, *Kashmere Misgovernment*, pp. 62 and 71., Dugsal, *Letters from India and Kashmir*, Lett. No: XVII. P. 205.

220. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, P. 71., Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P.54.

221. Ibid.,

222. Ibid.,

223. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 372 and 377., Saif-ud-Din. *Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated Nov., 11, 1850, f. 144.

224. Ibid., P. 316.

225. Ibid.,

226. Ibid., See also Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VII., Dated 18 April, 1856, f. 46.

227. Ibld.,

228. Mirjanpuri, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., P. 314.

229. It is evident from the fact that in 1860 A.D. one Sadiq Bhat, a shawl-weaver injured his thumb to escape the oppression. Qamar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XII., dated 17 July, 1860, f. 49., In 1858 A.D. also the tyrannical treatment compelled a shawl-weaver of Kursu village to apply red hot iron on his body. Vol. XI, Dated 7 March, 1858, ff. 38-39.

230. Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir*, Vol. II, P. 571.

231. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 377., Lawrence writes that "three Europeans carry on business in Srinagar as manufacturers of carpets". See also Bhan, R. K., *Report on the Economic Survey of Carpet Industry in Kashmir*. P. 1., Norris Dermot,

Kashmir the Switzerland of India, P. 39.

232. Bhan, *Report on Carpet Industry,* op. cit., P. 1.

233. Swinburne, *A Holiday in the Happy Valley,* P. 75., Younghusband, *Kashmir,* P. 212.

234. Bran, *Report on Carpet Industry,* op. cit., pp. 1-2.

235. Doughty, Marion, *A Foot Through the Kashmir Valley,* pp. 155-156.

236. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 377.

237. Bhan, *Report on Carpet Industry,* op. cit., P. 8.

238. Ibid.,

239. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 377.

240. Doughty, Marion, *A Foot through the Kashmir Valley,* pp.157-158.

241. Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* op. cit., P. 425.,

242. Moorcroft. *Travels,* op. cit., P. 155.

243. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 367., See a1so Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. III. dated March 1850, f. 29.

244. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. III, dated March 1850., f.101.

245. Ibid., dated August 25, 1850, f. 102.

246. Ibid., Daryayi and Khasih are the two superior and fine types of cloth woven out of silk yarn.

247. Qamar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. XIII, dated Sept. 21, 1861, f. 114.

248. Ibid.,

248a. Neve, E. F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal,* P. 58.

249. Ganesh Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashrnir,* P. 36.

250. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol.III, March, 1850. f. 29.

251. Qamar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. XIII, dated 21 Sept., 1861.f. 114.

252. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 367.

253. Ibid., See also Kripa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, pp. 493-503.

254. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 367.

255. Ibid.,

256. Ibid., Lawrence, writes that "In a short time the name kiram-kash became hateful to the villagers, and there is no doubt that the silk-rearers abused their position and oppressed the people".

257. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 367-368.

258. Kripa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, pp. 493-503.

259. Ibid., P. 380.

260. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol., II, P. 121.

261. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 379., Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 66. It was generally used for polite correspondence in India.

262. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 66., The author writes that The durability in Kashmir is remarkable contrasting favourably in this respect with much that is in Europe, when the practice of mixing certain chemical substance with the pulp is said to have caused a great deterioration in the quality", See also. R. Temple, *Journals*, op. cit., P. 300.

263. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 66.

264. Ibid.,

265. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 380.

266. Ibid., A dasta contained 24 sheets.

267. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 66., Qamar-url-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XII., dated Jan 11, 1860, f. 5., For different instruments employed in its preparation see Kripa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, pp. 480-81.

268. Barker, *A Report on the Cottage Textile Industries of Kashmir*, P. 76.

269. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 377.

270. Ibid.,

271. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 378.

272. Ibid., Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 214.

273. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 378.

274. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II, P.

275. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 370. Fauq Mohammad-ud-Din. *Tarikh-i-Badshahi*, P.348.

276. Ibid., See also Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. I, P. 291.

277. Lawrence, *The Valley*. P. 370., Ekbari means single breadth and were sold according to quality and finess made at turk Wangam 12 yards long and 1 ½ yards broad, fetched the prices of Rs. 24/- and Rs. 25/-.

278. Ibid., The Doari means double breadth (two pieces being 1 ½ yard broad with a length of 10 yards). It commended lower price and was sold by weight, 1 seer fetching Rs. 2/-.

279. Ibid., See also Fauq Mohammad-ud-Din, *Tarikh-i-Badshahi*, P. 348., Younghusband, *Kashmir*, pp. 215-216.

280. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 72.

281. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, Dec. 1. 1848. f. 9.

282. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 378.

283. Wakefield, *Kashmir and the Kashmiris*, oop. cit., P. 149., The author records that "In gold they (smiths) fashion the usual articles of jewellery as seen at home, but it is in the silver articles they display more of What may be termed as native taste".

284. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 378., Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P.214.

285. Ibid.,

286. Wakefield, *Kashmir and the Kashmiris*, op. cit., pp. 149-150.

287. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 378. The author writes that "perhaps the most effective and certainly the best value for the money is the copper-work of Srinagar".

288. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 378.

289. Ibid.,

290. Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 122., The author writes that "the Kashmiris are very expert as manufacturers of wooden toys, turnery ornamental carving in wood, in laid work of different woods...".

291. Sasan signified a motif for tiles. Chinar meant a popular motif for wood carving instead of Chinar leaves. Dacchi was a design of bunch of grapes. Badam was based on almond motif Mazar-posh was raised relief of irriss flower.

292. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 378.

293. Ibid., P. 379. The author writes that "beautiful ceilings of perfect design, cheap and effective, are made by a few carpenters, who with marvelous skill piece together thin slices of pine-wood. This is known as khatamband. The result is a cheering ceiling, in which the various shades of the pine-slips blend together in perfect harmony". A good specimen of Kashmiri wood work and ceiling may be seen in the Naqshband Sahib's shrine. Such ceilings were also introduced in England.

294. Ibid.,.

295. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, pp. 214-215., See also Swinburne, *The Holiday in the Happy Valley*, P. 76.

296. Moorcroft, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 213-214. The author has bestowed high praises on the leather industry of Kashmir and writes that "A fabric of much greater importance to Great Britain than that of damasked sword-blades, is that of Yirak leather, or leather suited for saddling. Such pieces of this as came in our way were usually old narrow slips employed as

reins and head-stalls, but the leather was strong, solid, heavy and pliable without any disposition to crack. Some of the pieces had been in use eighteen or twenty years and were none the worse for constant wear".

297. Details of the tribe are discussed in the chapter V.

298. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 379, Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 66.

299. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 379.

300. Lawrence, *The Val ley*, P. 379.

301. Ibid., P. 372., Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 217.

302. Kripa Ram, Diwan, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, pp. 456-461.

303. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II and V, f. 19 dated 27 Dec., 1848.. 15 Nov., 1852. f. 114.

303a. Qamar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XII. dated 11 August. 1860. f. 65.

304. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 69.

305. Ibid.,

306. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XI, dated 15 April, 1858., ff. 69-70.

307. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 373. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, P. 217., Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit., PP. 260-261.

308. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 69.

309. Ince, John, *The Kashmir Handbook*, P.

310. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VII, dated 1854. f. 50.

311 Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 371-372.,

312. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 169.

313. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 372.

314. Kripa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, P. 505. 315., Lawrence, *The valley*, pp. 377-378.

315. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 377-378.

316. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 372.

317. Ibid., P. 373.

318. Ibid.,

319. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and ladakh*, f. 84., See also Kripa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, P. 413.

320. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated August, 1, 1850., f. 77.

321. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 84.

322. Lawwrence, *The Valley*, f. 383.

323. Ibid.,

324. Ibid.,

325. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 70., Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated Dec. 27, 1848, f. 18., Kashmir had also some trade relations with Peshawar as the Peshawari snuff forty maunds in weight was imported.

326. Ibid., See also, Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 383.

327. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 387., See also Younghusband. *Kashmir*, pp. 218-221.

328. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, pp. 77-90., See also Kripa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, pp. 511-512.

329. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated Feb. 1, 1849, f. 39.

330. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 23-24., The author has given a detailed list of duties imposed on the imports and exports of Kashmir.

331. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 387., He also acted as a banai, and worked under the system wad.

332. Ibid., pp. 387,390.

333. Ibid., P. 390. The monopolies of various articles yielded large revenue to the state and interfered with the private evident from the following table:

Year	Value of revenue taken in kind	Value of revenue taken in cash
	Chilki rupees	Chilki rupees
1862	16,93,077	9,62,057
1871	29,44,844	14,96,741
1880-81	9,87,000	5,56,000
1881-82	10,48,000	5,60,000
1882-83	8,84,000	5,99,000
1883-84	8,57,000	4,67,000
1884-85	14,05,000	5,55,000
1885-86	9,27,000	3,90,000

334. Ibid., P. 397.

335. Ibid., pp. 380-382.

336. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, f. 70.

337. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 374.

338. Ibid.. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated Dec., 1. 1848.. f. 1., The author writes that on every Friday the small merchants held a market at Jamia Masjid and the government imposed heavy taxes on those businessmen.

339. Ibid.,

340. Ibid.,

341. Ibid., See also, Ganeshi-Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 25.

342. *Majma-i-Report*, 1878-79., pp. 101-103., Also *Majmu-i-Report*, 1880-81., P. 158.

343. Mr. Hanvey, *A political Memorandum*, August, 1880., Nos 1, and 2., Cf. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 159.

344. Ibid., Also, see Hasan, *Tarikh*, op. cit., Vol. I, P. 759 Khasta, Hargopal, *Guldast-i-Kashmir*, P. 79.

345. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 36., He has recorded

that it was coined from an alloy of silver and "half the quantity alloy in mixed with pure silver to coin the Hari Singhi Rupee".

346. Mr. Henvey, op. cit., *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh.* P. 159.

347. Ibid., on one side of the chilki rupee was inscribed "Sheonath Suhae" and on the reverse "zurb-i-Sreenaggar. Sumbat (year) HIS" with a cross, The means of HIS is said to be Jesus Homium Masih, inscribed by a native Christian who told Gulab Singh that these letters would be Pleasing to the British.

348. Ibid., Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 242.

349. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 242., Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha.* Vol. V, dated Nov., 14, 1852, f. 114., Vol. IX, dated 15 Dec., 1856, ff. 260,267. In 1856 A.D. the old Nanak-shahi coins were again minted with less silver and higher value and thereby the government got five to six thousand rupees annually from lowering the standard of coins but it caused considerable loss to shopkeepers and other businessmen.

350. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. I, dated Oct., 1848, ff. 93-96.

351. Ibid., In Kashmiri language ass is called the "khar" and kharwar indicates the ass-load. It was usually-abbreviated to khar.

352. Ibid., P. 243., The standard of weight in Kashmir was as such:-

4 kham rupee	33/5 tolas	1 pal.
30 pals	108 tolas	1 manwata = 2 136/175 lbs.
4 manwatas		1 trak = 11 10/175 lbs.
16 traks		1 kharwar = 177 129/175 lbs.

See also Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir,* P. 23., The author gives the table of Kashmiri weights as:-

"Seventy six Kashmiri or Hari Singhi rupees make one

seer. One seer consists of 20 peil. Half seer make one munbatta. Four munbattas make one truk and sixteen truks make one kharwar." Ganeshi Lal has erroneously put only half seer to make a munwat whileas it was one and a half seers which made a munwat. See also Kripa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, P. 506.

353. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 243., Vigne, Travels, Vol. II, P. 429. Appendix No: I, He gives the following scale of weights:

3 red Deeds	---- 1 dang
3 dangs	---- 1 kasyreh
4 ½ kasyreh	---- 1 domrch
8 kasyrchs	---- 1 pul (a pinch)
5 ½ puls	---- 1 pau (a handful) or 4 chatang.
4 paus	---- 1 sir or asser
1 ½ sirs of Kashmir	---- 1 munawuttu
6 sirs of Kashmir or 4 munawutus or 4 ½ sirs of Ludiana	---- 1 trak.

354. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II. dated Dec. 1, 1848, f. 6.

355. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 39., Wingate. Report, op. cit., P. 39, He writes that "The local land measure of Kashmir is based upon a seed measures:-

4 Manwatas	--- 1 trak
16 treks	--- 1 kharwar

"One trak contains six local seers of 76 local tolas

per seer. 76 local tolas are usually held to be equivalent to 72 imperial tolas. One kharwar of 16 traks or 76 local seers is, therefore, equal to 86 seers and 32 tolas imperial weight, at 80 imperial tolas per see, or 2 maunds, 6 seers and 32 tolas or eight tolas less than 173 Lbs. This weight, however, is not universal. For example in Shupiyan, I am told the seer weighs 80 local tolas instead of 76."

356. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 243.,

20 pals	=	1 seer		
30 pals	=	1 manwata	10 marlas	
4 manwatas	=	1 traks	2 kanals	= 1 Rood
16 traks	=	1 kharwar	30 kanals	= 4 Acres

357. Ibid.,

25 karus	=	16 trak
16 trak	=	1 kharwar

358. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 788., A "Purnis being usually about 200 feet long by 6 feet broad".

359. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 93., Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 243.

1 Gira	=	2 ¼ Inches
16 Giras	=	1 Gaz
20 Giras	=	1 Gaz in measuring Pashmina cloth

360. Ibid.,

361. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 93.,

362. Ibid.,

363. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 243.

364. Ibid., pp. 243-244., "16 to 20 kharwars or shali was the ordinary wage of a domestic servant".

Section—III

SOCIO-CULTURAL SETUP

Standard of Living

The geo-political and economic conditions of Kashmir resulted in the lower standard of living of the people. The climate of the Valley adversely affected its inhabitants and the people were quite contended if there were no famines, floods, fires and epidemics. The political institutions exacted as much wealth from the people as they could. Inspite of a fairly good number of industries and a large agricultural out-put, the majority of the Kashmiris were living in poverty. The state adopted the policy of high taxation rates, high land revenue demand, trade tariffs and monopoly of almost all the products of the Valley. Moreover, the wealth of the Valley was continuously drained out to the Jammu province [1]. The people were left with hardly anything to make their both ends meet. The whole society groaned under this rule that plunged the people into misery [2]. Everything was on decline and liable to change at the risk of chance.

The Kashmiri society was male-dominated and the position of the women was miserable. They hardly enjoyed any right or status on their own. Most of them took part in agriculture and shawl industry. Polygamy was common among the Muslims and traffic in women [3] made their position worse. The priests dominated the majority of the Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims [4].

During the period under study many people changed their hereditary professions owing to their harassment by various institutions. The system of begar compelled the villagers to change their profession and they settled in Srinagar either as shawl-weavers or house-held servants, because the city population was exempted from begar [5]. Most of the shawl-

weavers, changed their occupation and settled in villages to escape the oppression [6]. Most of them cut their fingers and thumb [7] as a result of exploitation of Karkhanadars.

There were three main stratas in the society of Kashmir. The upper strata, irrespective of religion, comprised the Governors, Chief Officers, Jagirdars, Karkhandars, traders and bankers. They had the privilege to exact from the masses as much wealth as they could [8], all the facilities of a costly dress, diet and housing were available to them. They indulged in the Dal trips [9] with the dancing girls and many kinds of drinks, wines, tea were used by them as a luxury [10].

The host of revenue officials, [11] priests and the shopkeepers formed the middle strata. The revenue officials were responsible for the realization of land revenue and other taxes. To that end, they adopted oppressive measures and exploited the peasants and artisans.

The cultivators, shawl-weavers, boatmen, peasants, and other workers comprised the lower strata. They were the actual producers of wealth which was exacted by the state and its officials. The interests of the villagers were kept subservient to those of the city population [12]. The system of distribution of produce killed the states initiative among the peasants [13] and reduced their standard of living deplorably. The revenue system was such that the cultivators were left with literally nothing [14] to tide over the period of misfortune i.e. the cruel winter, when the snow laid deep and temperature came down to zero [15]. They were subjected to severe taxation and the curse of begar also fell on them resulted in their socio-economic degradation [16]. Likewise the socio-economic condition of the workers was deplorable owing to the state attitude and the system of taxation in the country [17].

Character of the People

The inhabitants of the Valley were physically a fine race in the whole of Indian sub-continent [18]. They were of robust and muscular make, like those who served as the models of the

"Farnesan Hercules" [19]. The inhabitants of the city were rather slight [20]. The villagers were the heavy lead-carriers [21], with their muscles hard and compact, and could "twist saplings into tough writhes for lashing together loose bundles". Little children too carried leads and drove enormous buffaloes and the girls were great water-carriers who were accustomed to hard work [23]. Women in the villages were always engaged in pounding the unhusked rice in the large wooden mortor with pestles five feet long [24]. The Kashmiris were fair in colour of standard height, and had well shaped [25] heed, prominent nose, large dark eyes, often their checks were rosy.

The Kashmiris were known as good artisans and were ingenious as mechanics [26]. They were regarded as superior in intelligence to their neighbours [27] like the Punjabis, the Tibetans and the Pathans [28]. The character of the Kashmiris has been misinterpreted. They were called coward, dishonest and treacherous[29]. By nature and tradition they had been a fine and brave race [30]. But it was the unbreakable chain of invaders and conquerors who had murdered, oppressed and enslaved their ancestors, and so ground the life and heart out of them that their better selves had been crushed [31]. The political and economic conditions affected the character of the people [32]. The Kashmiris were starved of their necessaries of life so they learnt to lie in order to save themselves and their families from any official engine of destruction [33]. They learnt never to trust any foreigner or stranger for they thought that he might have come to rob them and learnt to hoard and hide the produce of their own fields to fight the famine which had to come sooner or later [34]. The Kashmiri like any orientalist had two sides of his character as distinct as light and darkness [35].

Language

Kashmiri (Kashur as it is called) is a most peculiar language, largely based on Sanskrit [36]. But there is a disputed point whether Kashmiri was ever a written language. Dr. Elmislie states that in ancient times it was written in the Sharda character, there is a remarkable similarity between the Sanskrit and the

were also used for preparing tea and rice. The Hindus used the utensils of brass, they ate off brass dishes and drank out of brass cups [74].

Dress

It has been asserted that the national dress of the Kashmiris was like that of Kishtwars [75], which consisted of a small shirt and tight trousers. During the long walks the woolen bandages were put around the calves of the legs [76]. But there occurred a change in the dress of Kashmiris during Harsha's (1089-1101 A.D.) reign [77] some changes were brought in the dress of Kashmiris under Muslims [78]. However, Kashmiris both men and women wore a simple dress consisting of a long gown, "pheran" [79] and trousers. The pheran was mostly made of woolen cloth so as to keep the body warm. The women wore it with wide sleeves and skirts were longer, descending to the ankles [80]. Under the pheran there was the under-garment calls pots made of cotton cloth.. Both men and women used kamar-bend [81] a piece of cloth tied around the waist. During the winter season, when men had to undertake the long journeys they wrapped their legs with two pieces of coarse cloth called "pataw" [82]. The head-dress of average men was turban or pagri (dastar), all of white colour. which Hindus smoothed over the right temple and the Muslims on the left [83]. The Kashmiri cultivator's ordinary head-dress. when he was at work was a cotton skullcap and on some occasions he wore a pagri too [84]. The little girls wore skullcap and married Muslim women changed it for the turbans (Qasaba) which was studded with innumerable pins and over it a sphere of country cloth (pooch) to set" in the case of necessity, as a veil which also usually covered the whole back" [85]. The Hindu women's heed-gear was called taranga [86], a white round turban. Those Kashmiri Pandits who migrated to India during the Afghan rule returned to Kashmir during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh[87] were influenced by the dress and social customs of India and they introduced those changes in the valley [88].

The ordinary veil worn by the Kashmiri women was called burqa [89] which consisted of a long piece of cotton cloth thrown

over the head and allowed to long down the back . It is common among the upper classes and absent among the Hanjis and watals[90].

The *lungi* was a long piece of cloth worn around the waist over the *pheran* by the pandit women, who never went out without this girdle [91]. The women were generally ornamented with elegant ear-rings, nose rings, anklets, and bracelets [92]. They arranged their hair in a "peculiar" way and the practice was known as *wankapan* [93]. The ordinary foot wear in Kashmir was the leather or straw sandal called *tsapli* or *pulahar* and the wooden patten for wet weather called *Khraw* [94]. The leather shoes were rare and were worn by the well-to-do on special occasions but the Hindu women avoided these [95].

However, the dress of the people was mean in appearance [96], with a strange absence of colour [97]. The dress of the people and their complexion blended while cultivating the land, with the tone of earth, newly cultivated [98]. They were dressed in rags which could hardly hide their body and they were usually bare footed [99]. The peasant "presented the appearance rather of a starving beggar than of one who filled the coffers of the state" [100]. The total wardrobe of a peasant was worth about five rupees and a suit lasted for two years [101]. The people always made an ostentation of extreme poverty [102], because any outward show was interpreted by the officials as a sign of hidden wealth [103], the latter as such doubly taxed them [104]. They made rare use of ornaments, even the officials [105] avoided wearing them. Thus it was the official tyranny [106] which made them to look dirty, in torn clothes, so as to escape taxation and exactions.

Diet

The staple food of the Kashmiris consisted of rice [107] and boiled vegetables [108].They also ate wheat, barley, maize and other grains [109].The leaves of the dandelion, plantain and mallow were eaten and catkins of the walnut, seasoned with a little salt, mustard and walnut oil [110] were almost taken as food. The root of the lotus called Nadru, when boiled and flavored was also

Their motto was "sufficient for the year"[145], but they died in hundreds even in normal times from hunger and were left to starve [146]. It was during the period under study that they were debarred from the fish of their waters [147]. The state thought it not its responsibility to feed subjects, "whom it holds in bondage"[148], but rather taxed them and enriched itself with their labour [149].

PEOPLE AND THEIR LIFE

The Villagers

It remained the policy of the government for a long time to subordinate the interests of the cultivators to the welfare and ease of the city people [150]. The Kashmiri peasant could turn his hand to anything and supplemented his income by subsidiary industries such as weaving, gardening, cattle breeding and bee-keeping. [151] Some of the villagers went to the plains in search of work during the winter.[152] There they worked as labourers and saved their wages, returning in the early summer to their homes to cultivate their fields.[153] They were taxed by the government for the profits with which they returned.[154] They could build their own houses, could make their own sandals and make their own ropes. [155]

Poultry

In every village there used to be excellent fowls, ducks[156] and capons. So poultry was found in abundance which formed a source of considerable income to the villagers [157] and government. In 1861 A.D. it was ordered that each village should be paid two annas to buy a hen and then the village in return should supply an additional four birds from each hen during one year.[158]

Apiculture (Bee Keeping)

The method [159] of bee keeping in Kashmir was primitive.[160] In almost all the Kashmiri village houses the bee hives were seen. Though the annual yield of a hive was unknown, but in a good year it used to give eight seers of honey-comb. [161] Each

hive could yield two harvests, one in June and the other in October. [162] The Kashmiris cared little for the food of the bees during the summer and winter when temperature used to fall to zero Fahrenheit, and the bee colonies perished. [163] The wax was sold to the cobblers and goldsmiths of the city and it commanded a good price. Honey was sold at about three pence British a pound, but wax being dearer during the Sikh rule [164], it added to the income of both, the peasant and the government. In 1846 A.D. the government collected two thousand rupees annually from the honey.

Cattle Rearing

The cattle-breeding was carried on in most villages[166]. All cattle were sent for grazing to the up hills in the summer due to the intense heat in the plains and returned from there in winter. The shepherds received two percent of the flocks,if the flock was intact and were paid in kind. (rice) [167]. The farmers used to stock sufficient food of various tree leaves for cattle during winter and grass was also preserved for winter in such a way as to save it from rottenness [168].

Every person with a milch cow had to supply one seer of ghee annually as tax and if it was not paid in kind, it was collected in cash at the rate of 10 to 20 rupees, even the keeper of ten horses had to supply one as government tax [168a].

The sheep, which was of importance to villagers,was meant for wool production upto the age of four years [169].In 1852 A. D. the tax on sheep or goat per head was fixed at the rate of eight annas (chilki) [170]. In 1858 A.D. it was raised from Rs.9-6 annas to Rs10/- on one hundred sheep, in addition to the purchase of one sheep out of hundred from a stockiest for 4 annas[171]. In addition, any peasant with a buffalo had to pay a tax of two to four rupees per head which brought the state in 1854 A.D, an income of rupees twelve thousand [172].

The agricultural class was also well acquainted with the medicinal properties of various plants, with which they used to cure their diseases [173].

References

1. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. II, dated October 20-22. 1849, ff. 72-74., Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, Ibid., Vol. XIII, dated 14 Feb.. 1861. ff. 27, 31, Vol. III, dated March 21. 1850, f.42.

2. Arthur Brinkman, *The Wrongs of Kashmir,* op. cit., P. 20.

3. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. VI, dated 15 September, f. 104.

4. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 253., Neve, E. F., *Things seen in Kashmir,* pp. 66-67.

5. Lawrence. *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 412., Wingate. op. cit., P. 37.

6. For full details Chapter VI

7. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vo!. VIII, dated Nov., 19. 1855. f. 141.

8. For full details see Chapter VI

9. Hasan, *Tarikh,* op. cit., Vol. II, p. 762. Diwan Kripa Ram, was one of the Governors of Kashmir who used to have the pleasure trips to Dal on boats, pecked with women. He was remembered as the "Kripa Shrun" being his nickname. (Shrun indicates the sound produced by the piles).

10. Torrens, *Travels,* op. cit., P. 309.

11. See Chapter IV for details.

12. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 187., *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* P. 106.

13. Winagate, op. Cit., P. 25.

14. They had to feed, out of their share the tailors, the washer man, the cobblers, the barbers, pirs, faqirs, and a large number of other people.

15. Lawrence, *The India We Served,* pp. 126-127.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.,....... Still, they were in some respects "better off" than their fellows in British India. At least they had some grazing facility for their sheep and cattle, some fuel and warm clothes for winter and sufficient manure for cultivation.

18. Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 174. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 471.

19. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 128.

20. Ibid.,

21. Norris, *Kashmir, The Switzerland of India*, P: 8.

22. Neve, E. F., *Things Seen in Kashmir*, P. 62.

23. Ibid.,

24. Neve, E. F., *Beyond The Pir Panjal*, P. 59.

25. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 304, Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 174. Forster, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 24. Bernier, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 144.

26. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 32.

27. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 128-129.

28. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 42. Bernier, *Travels*, op. cit., P. 402, the author writes that "The kachemirys are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and the sciences they are not inferior to the Persians. They are also very active and industrious". See also, Oscar Ecknestein, *The Karakorams and Kashmi*, P. 37.

29. Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 175. Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit., pp. 298-299. The author has quoted a native proverb, for from complimentary to the inhabitants of the happy Valley:-

"*Agar kaht-ol-rigal uftad, az eshanoone kum geeree,*
Eki Afghan, doum kumboh, seum badzat-i-Kashmiri".

Which may be rendered

"Should fate decree a dearth of men,
then, friend of mine, beware ye of Afghan,

Kumbo, scoundrel too, But worst of all, do thou eschew that ill-bred knave Kashmiri".

30. Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 174.ı Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit., P. 310. "Our boatmen were possessed of vague notion of happy time, long ago, when the men were all brave, hardly and war-like, the women all virtuous".

31. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 79. Del. Mar Walter, *The Romantic East*, op. cit., pp. 179-180. Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit., pp. 299-300. The author writes, "There is no doubt that they were originally of Brahmin origin, and prosperous must have been the people—wise, beneficent and energetic the rulers—in those old days, if tradition and legend are to be believed, and the mighty monuments of a past grandeur, long anterior to the days when Mogul wealth and taste embellished the valley, are to be looked on as faithful witnesses, but to this golden age succeeded centuries of oppression." See also Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 36.

32. Abul Fazl, *Ain*, op. cit., P. 249 (Jarret), Moorcroft, *Travels*, op. cit., P. 126. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 399.

33. P. Gervis, *This is Kashmir*, pp. 304-305.

34. Ibid.

35. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 4-5 writing about the nature of Kashmiris, the author says that "many of the hard things said about the Kashmiris are due to the fact that the officials interpreters of their character have been foreigners, often grasping and corrupt, always unsympathetic. Mughal Subahs, Pathan Sirdars, Sikh and Dorga Governors dismissed all difficulties of administration, and all humane suggestions emanating from their masters, with the remark that the Kashmiris were dishonest, treacherous and zulm-parast. It is the old tale of giving a dog a bad name......"

36. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, P. 368. He states that he was told on good authority that out of 100 Kashmiri words 25 will be found to be Sanskrit, or a pracrit, 40 Persian 15 Hindustani and

10 will be Arabic and some few Tibetan, Turki, See also Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 454, Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories,* P. 470.

37. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* pp. 94-95, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* P. 479.

38. Ibid., as recorded by the author Babu Neelambar Mukerji, M. A. B.L. has devoted much attention to the subject and is well qualified to give an opinion.

39. Ibid.,

40. Ibid.,

41. Ibid.,

42. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 95, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* pp. 479-480.

43. Ibid., Bites, P. 200. Gurais east end of the southern portion of the Valley was under Malik Waffadar, the descendant of the ancient Nawabs of the Valley and was then the Thanadar of Gurais under the Maharaja's Government.

44. Tilail, lay to the north-east of Kashmir. It was under the Maharaja, who put the village Muqadams incharge of the administration, under the Thanadar who resided in Badgam, from whom the appeal lay to the Governor of Kashmir. Ibid., P. 387.

45. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 951, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* pp. 479-480.

46. Brown Percy, *The Architecture of Kashmir Hindu and Buddhist Marg,* Vol. VI; No: I, pp. 40-52.

47. Vigne, *Travels,* Vol. I, P. 271, The change from stone to wood building was probably due to the effects earthquakes. See also Abul Fazl, *Ain,* Vol. II, (Jarret), P. 349.

49. Moorcroft, *Travels,* Vol., 11, Vigne, *Travels,* Vol. I, P. 271, Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-I-Kashmir,* P. 32.

50. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 353.

51. Moorcroft, *Travels,* Vol. II, P.119

52. Vigne, *Travels,* Vol. I, pp. 253 and 271.

53. Ibid., P. 27., Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 353.

54. Ibid., P. 270,

55. Ibid.,

56. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories,* pp. 176-171.

57. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* p. 249.

58. Vigne, *Travels,* Vol. I. P. 271. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade,* p. 88.

59. Morison, A Lonely Summer in Kashmir. p. 28.

60. Knight, Where Three Empires Meet. p. 76.

61. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories,* P. 177. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 17.

62. Neve, E. F., *Things Seen in Kashmir,* P. 63.

63. Neve, E. F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal,* P. 58.

64. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories,* pp. 176-177.

65. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade,* P. 64. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir,* P.32.

66. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet,* P. 76. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories,* pp. 176-177. Younghusband, *Kashmir,* pp. 130-131.

67. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade,* P. 87.

68. Marison, *A Lonely Sumner in Kashmir,* P. 28, "The doors of the houses are so low that a man must stoop to pass through".

69. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 250.

70. Ibid.,

71. Ibid., Younghusband, *Kashmir,* P. 220.

72. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* P. 250.

73. Torrens, *Travels,* op. cit., P. 3091; Torrens writes that the Kashmiris "acknowledged that its shape had been imitated from Russian model brought by some traveling merchants years

age from the north. This lodge for keeping tea hot had evidently impressed them with a great respect for the Muscovite, and they may be said to imbibe with each cup of comfort a spice of Russian influence. Muscovite intrigue may lurk in the aroma of each domestic teapot and methought the very hiss of the steaming "Samavar" breathed a covert wearing. prophetic of the future". See also Bates. *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*. P. 39. Vigne. *Trevels*,.Vol. II. P. 87. Geneshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kahmir*. P. 32.

74. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 103.

75. Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. I. P. 452, Kishtwar lay on the east side of the Maharaja's dominions and remained the administrative part for a short period. See Bates. *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, pp. 237-238. *Lewrence, The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 251.

76. Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit. P. 310, the author was told by some boatmen that in old days the Kashmiris used to wear the short clothes.

77. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I. BK, VII, VS 921-924. P. 339.

78. Khasta, Hargopal Koul. *Guldast-i-Kashmir*, pp. 73-74.

79. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*. P. 35., "Pheran" is manifestly a contraction of Persian word "pairahan", garment and tradition doff their more mortial labiliments in order to subdue their then war-like spirit".

80. Ibid.,

81. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 104.

82. Saif-ud-Din. *Roznamcha*, Vol. V, dated 27 December, 1853, f. 180. The soldiers of Maharaja Gulab Singh also used the *pataw*. See Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 251-252.

83. Bates, *A Gazeetteer of Kashmir*, P. 35. Neve E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 240. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 251.

84. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 257.

85. Bazaz, P. N., *Daughters of Vitasta*, P. 199. Doughty, *A Foot Through the Kashmir Valleys*, P. 124. Dugsal, *Letters From India and Kashmir*, P. 177.

86. Ibid.

87. Kilm, J.L., *A History of Kashmiri Pandits*, P. 279.

88. Ibid., Diwan Badri Nath was one among them who become the Governor of Kashmir in 1887 A.D.

89. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 35, Bates, says that it was called "puts".

90. Ibid., Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 150.

91. Petrocokira, A., *Cashmere—Three Weeks in a House Boat*, P. 84.

92. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, pp. 35-36. Wakefield, *The Happy Valley*, op. cit., P. 106. Neve, E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 240. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 36. Wakefield, *The Happy Valley*, op. cit, P. 106.

93. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 36., Bates writes about the arrangement of hair, that "It is drawn to the back of the head and finely braided, the braids are then gathered together, and being mixed with coarse woolen thread, they are worked into a very long plait, which is terminated by a thick tassel (gandapan) which reaches down the loins". Thick tassel (gandapan) which reaches down to the loins". Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VI. dated 17 jan., 1853, f. 16. The Hindus of Kashmir started to shave and cut hair of their heads according to dogra style.

94. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 251; Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 36.

95. Ibid., P. 252.

96. Ibid.,

97. Marison, *A Lonely Summer in Kashmir*, P. 14.

98. Ibid.,

99. Bazaz, P. N., *Struggle For Freedom in Kashmir*, P. 144.

100. Bazaz, P. N., *Inside Kashmir*, P. 252.

101. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 76.

102. Ibid.,

103. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 252.

104. Brinkman, *Narrative of a Shooting Excursion*, pp. 113-114.

105. Brinkman, *The wrongs of Kashmir*, op. cit., P. 31, The author writes that "On one occasion, noticing a bracelet on the wrist of a village head-man, English traveler asked whether it was of silver. All the by-standers burst into laughter while the wearer anxiously assured him that it was only lead, adding "Silver" why? how should men wear silver in the country of Maharaja".

106. Brinkman, *The wrongs of Kashmir*, op. cit., P.22. D.Norris, *Kashmir—The Switzerland of India*, P.8. The author writes about the fashion in the dress of Kashmiris that "Good clothes, or even a neat appearance to indicate that the wearer was in easy circumstances and would have attracted tax-gatherers as surely as honey-scented flowers attract the bee".

107. Bates, *A Gazzetter of Kashmir*, P.35. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 253. Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit., P. 300. Ince, *Kashmir Handbook*, P.22.

108. Ibid.,

109. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P.35.

110. Ibid.,

111. Ibid., "It is of a palestraw colour, cylindrical, and about ten inches long and an inch and a half in diameter, and is considered highly nutritious".

112. Ibid., P.49, The turnips produced at Haripur were said to be the best in the valley.

113. Ibid., P.45, See Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 254.

114. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P.253.

115 Ibid., P. 254.

116. Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. I, P. 186.

117. Ibid., P. 178. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P.67.

118. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 26.

119. Lawrence, *The valley*, P.254. Forester, George, *A Journey*, op. cit., Vol. I, P. 265.

120 Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahati-i-Kashmir*, P. 35.

121. Vigna, *Travels*, Vol. I, op. cit., P.309.

122 Lawrence, *The valley*, P. 364.

123 Vigna, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. I, P. 327. Hugel B.C. *Kashmir and the Punjab*, P. 144.

124. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 254.

125 Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 254. Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit., P. 308. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 39. Sehonberg, *Travels*, Vol. I, P. 127. Honigberger, *Thirty Five Years in the East*, P. 181.

126. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 254. Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit., P. 309.

127 Honigberger, *Thirty Five Years in the East*, P. 179. *A Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 783.

128. Bates, *A Gazetter of Kashmir*, P.48.

129. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 127.

130 Daughty, *A Foot Through the Valley*, P.166. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P.291. Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. I, P. 456.

131 Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 127.

132. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P.346.

133. Ibid., pp. 253-254.

134 Saifudin, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VI, dated 12 March.

135. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 254, (B.N)

136. Saif-ud-din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VI, dated 17 September, 1853, f. 105. The Roznamcha contains a proclamation, *Ishtihar-i-Gaw Kashi*, prohibiting the slaughter of cow, Vol. VII, dated March 1854, f. 85. It is full of the punishments given to the people who were suspected of the crime. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 113. The author remarks that on the

bridge Fateh Kadal was a pole and hook"on which used to swing the bodies of those who had been convicted of killing cows, as a warning to the citizens"Again the author writes (P.123) that anyone who killed a cow was boiled in oil and then hung from a hook which was fixed on to a pole in a public place".Saif-ud-din *Roznamcha*, Vol. VI, July 1,1853, f.52. A women who was bitten by cow, wounded the cow with a short knife. It was ordered that the head of the women be shaved and her tongue be pulled out, whereafter she be paraded through five parganahs. See also Vol. III, dated 25 August, 1850 f.99. Lawrence, *India we served*, P. 135, Ince, *Kashmir Handbook*, P. 22. Dugsal, *Letters from India and Kashmir*, P.172, Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, pp. 15-16. Sinclain, G., *Khyber Carvan*, P 43. Robert Thorp, *Cashmere Misgovernment*, op. cit., P. 77.

137 Torrens, *Travels*, op,. cit, P. 306. Forster, *Journey*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 327. Vigna, *Travels*, Vol. II, P.117. Bates, *A Gazetter of Kashmir*, P 35, Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 254.

138. Anesley, *Our Visits to Hindustan*, op. cit., pp. 82-83, Bates, *A Gazzetter of Kashmir*, P. 35. Schonberg, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 103. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, P.86. Wakefield, *The Happy Valley*, op. cit., pp. 154-155, R.Temple, *Journals*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 55.

139. Saif-ud-din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated 10th November, 1849, f. 88, Vol. X, dated February 6, 1857, f. 44.

140 Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 253.

141 Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 254.

142 Ibid., P. 255.

143 Birdwood, *Two Nations and Kashmir*, P. 29.

144 Ireland John B., *The American Globe—Troutter*, Cf. Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, P. 240.

145 Wakefield, *The Happy Valley*, P. 130.

146 Saif-ud-din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IV, dated 14 August, 1851, f. 79.

147 Brinkmen, *The Wrongs of Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 30-31 Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit., pp. 306-308. The author writes that the food of the Kashmiris consisted mainly of rice and fish but the recent order of the Maharaja, which forbade the people to catch the fish,—an order which if carried out in its integrity would result in actual starvation to many thousands." It is an instance of the height of folly to craft, can attain. Qamar-ud-din. *Roznamcha,* Vol. XII, dated 29 January, 1860, f.14. The persons who were found guilty of eating the fish were chained, their faces were blackened and then they were kept standing on the Zaina Kadal Bridge to serve as a warning to others.

148 Brinkman, *The Wrongs in Kashmir*, op. cit., P. 31.

149. Ibid.,

150. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 272.

151 Ibid., P. 277, *Admn. Report* (S.1992-93). 1937 A.D. pp.27-28.

152 Ibid.,

153 William Digby, *condemned unheard*, Ed.Gadru, *Kashmir papers*, P. 142. Lawrence, *The Valley*, p. 253.

154 Bazaz F.N., *Inside Kashmir*, pp. 252.

155 Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 277.

156 Ibid., P. 365.

157 Ibid., P. 365-366.

158 Mohy-ud-din Mirza, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XIII, dated January 8, 1861, f. 2.

159 Neve, E.F., *Beyond Pir Panjal*, pp. 61-64. Anesley Mrs. *Our Visited to Hindustan*, op. cit., pp. 76-77. Moorcroft, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 155-162.

160 Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 366.

161 Ibid.,

162 Neve, E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, pp. 62-63.

163 Ibid.,

164 Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 252.

165 Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P.377. *Lawrence, The Valley*, P. 366.

166 Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 359.

167 Neve, E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 61.

168 Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 153-154.

168a. Saif-ud-din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated February 1849 f. 43. Shunga Kotwal's contractor entered private stables and took away any horse or pony he laid his hands on. Vol I. dated October 23, 1849, f. 3.

169 Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 360.

170. Saif-ud-din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. V, dated February 23 1852, f. 25.

171 Ibid., Vol. XI, dated July 10, 1859, f. 98. Mohy-ud-din, *Roznamcha*, XIII, dated January 2, 1861, f. 2. The author has mentioned that these peasants had to feed and Keep certain state owned stock of sheep for winter and return the lot plus one yard of putton per sheep on each batch of one hundrd kept by them in addition to Sheep tax.

172 Saif-ud-din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VII, dated January 26, 1854, f. 33.

173 Bates, A Gazzetter of Kashmir, P. 17.

CLASS STRATIFICATION

During the period under study the people of Kashmir were divided into many stratas, castes and Jatis who appeared to practice various occupations. The disparity was found on the basis of birth, occupation and ownership of wealth. The villages and cities of the valley narrated the story of inequality in social structure with a hierarchy of upper, middle, and lower sections in the population. Every village had its mosque [1] where the villagers used to offer prayers (Nimaz) especially during the month of RAMZAN .In most of the villages there was a Muslim Shrine (Astaan) [2]. It played an important role in the village community and the religious life of the peasants who out of regard brought the gifts [3] to the shrine. The peasants had a great regard for *safed posh*, custodians of the shrine [4]. They posed to be poor, never worked but lived on the labour of others. They got a considerable income out of the "making or selling of charms"[5] (Tawiz) to the villagers who wore them, and considered them as well as the shrines as means of protection from disease and disaster and to it they looked for aid in times of stress or in any special enterprises[6]. The "safed posh" lived in better houses, had excellent gardens and good orchards and had a considerable influence in the villages. Though the villagers had a great regard for them and they in turn had no sympathy for an ordinary peasant, but would "side with the native officials" on any issue[7].

Bhaggats was a class of villagers who dramatized the working of the village community. They unveiled the corrupt practices of the village officials by performing their role on the stage[8]. They also depicted the role of different villagers[9]. It was said about Gulab Singh that he "acquired a very intimate

knowledge of village administration from the Bhaggats performances"[10].

Another class of village community was the Shairs. They were "either minstrels who sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, or the village poets, who suddenly spring up in the midst of business and recite in a loud, shrill tone the praises of the most influential person present"[11]. they were miserably poor and sometimes not quite sane[12]. The village community also comprised the weavers, carpenters, axemen, sawyers, basket-makers, black-smiths and potters.

There existed the barter system of exchange in the village. Bania [13] was an essential element in the village economy who worked under the system of "wad" [14].

In the domestic life, Kashmiri peasant was the equal of any Indian peasant [15]. He did not indulge in amusements [16], while he was at his best in his home, kind to his wife and children who helped him in all his jobs[17].

The City People

The city was inhabited by the Muslims and Hindus. The Mu[illegible] of the city were similar in character and disposition to the people of the villages. The cityman was more lazy, helpless and effeminate .In his opinion it was the duty of the state to feed him and being too delicate to work, it was the duty of the villagers to be taken as labourers for carriage work or begar[18] (forced labour). In Srinagar there were four baths and the great institution was known as Hammam[19]. The men went to the bath in the day, and the women at night and they took their food with them. The Muslims considered it necessary to go to *Hammam* once a week[20].

The city Hindu was in some respects different to the Hindu of the villages. In the villages they worked as the agriculturists[21] and were simple, hardworking and healthy while as in the city, the Hindus earned their living by pen[22] and state-employment and also followed trade[23]. They were intelligent, charming and had excellent manners, but as officials they proved to be

rapacious, short-sighted and cruel [24]. At home, they were generous and the head of the family had to support all the members, they were very true to one another[25].

Brahmans

The Brahmans of Kashmir always bore the title "Pandit"[26]. They were, as recorded by W. Lawrence, 52,576 in number, 28,695 lived in Srinagar and the towns and the rest 23,881 lived in different villages, who were engaged in agriculture [27]. There were three classes of Pandits in Kashmir Jotish [28] (Ostrologer class), Guru or Bachabat [29], (priestly class) and the Karkun[30] (working class). The two classes of Jotishis and karkuns did not intermarry with the priestly class, because the former two classes hated the practice of accepting the apparel of deceased Hindus, by the members of the priestly class, the Jotish & Karkun pandits intermarried [31]. The city pandits were sedulous for the education of their children.

The Pandits were divided into some tribes or families (gotras)[32], but these were all arranged under the two great divisions of the Hindus, the Malamasis[33] and Baruhmasis[34]. The Pandits were known by the name "Bat".

Khattris

The Khattris of Srinagar were known as Bohras and were engaged in trade and shop-keeping. They had adopted the customs and rites of the Brahmans but enjoyed no caste fellowship with them[35].

Sikh Brahmans

The Sikh Brahmans were originally from the Punjab and their chief settlements were in the Parcanes of Tral, Kruhin and Hamal[36]. In 1835 their number was recorded to be about 2000[37]. They were cultivators of dry crops and served as the soldiers of Nizamat regiment, which was maintained for the collections of revenue. They were quite different from Brahmans of Kashmir[38].

Rajputs

Some of the Mian Rajputs were granted Jagirs and revenue-free lands during the period under study [39], who settled in the valley and took an active part in the service of the state. They chiefly settled in the Deosar Tehsil, around the foot of the mountains in the south of the Valley [40].

Muslims

The Muslim population of the valley numbered 8,83,099 and out of them 93,575 resided in Srinagar and the rest formed the rural population [41]. The caste system was not strictly followed among the Muslims who ate in company irrespective of caste, creed or class, and no doubt there was the custom of marrying in the same caste but sometimes marriages outside of the caste were also made [42]. The Muslims of the valley could be divided among the Sheikhs [43] and Saiyids, Mughals and Pathans who were in minority[44]. There were about twenty tribes or clans among the Muslims in Kashmir[45]. The tribal names were called the Kram. Which was often changed by the people according to the profession they practiced [46]. They could also intermarry after entering into the *Kram*. The *kram* was also adopted after some incidence that obtained their nicknames [47].

Sheikhs

The Sheikhs were Muslims or had embraced Islam and lived mostly in villages. They were Pirzadas, Babas, Rishis, the Mullas, Mals, Chaks, Ghakkar, Wani, Pare, Parar, War and Kambe. The Pirzadas intermarry with the Saiyads[48]. The Rishis did not marry, did not eat meat, were wanderers in the jungles, living upon wild herbs, particularly one called *Wopalhak* [49]. The Mullahs or priests were divided into two classes- those in the first were the learned in law and were designated at Moulvi, Qazi, Akhund or Mufti and the Mullas less learned led the prayers in the mosque, taught children the Quran and lived upon the offerings of the people [50]. The second class called Mals had fallen in the social position. They washed and prepared the dead bodies for burial and dug graves. They were not allowed to

intermarry with the Mullahs or other people[51].The Chaks were the warriors of Kashmir and played prominent role in the history of Kashmir in the 16th century A.D.[52].

Saiyads

They practiced religion as a profession (pir muridi), and also took agriculture and other pursuits. They were considered to be foreigners. The villagers could intermarry in the families of the Saiyads practicing agriculture, but could not even think marrying into a Saiyad family of *pir* profession [53]. *Mir* was the *Kram* name of the Saiyads which was prefixed to his name when he was in *pir* profession and when he took up a mundane profession, the Mir was affixed to his name[54].

Mughals

Some of the Mughals came in the early days of Muslim rule in Kashmir while others came in the Mughal times. Their Krams were Mir (corruption of Mirza), Beg, Bangi Bach and Ashaya. They did not intermarry with the ordinary Kashmiri Muslims [55].

Pathan

The Pathans were chiefly to be found in the uttar Machipura and Kuki Kheyl. The Afridis were to be found in Dranghaiham[56]. They mostly spoke Pashtu but due to intermarriages with the Kashmiris, the young generation resembled and spoke their language. The majority of them came to Kashmir during the Afghan rule and many of them were introduced by Maharaja Gulab Singh who granted them jagirs for the service on the frontier. They furnished certain men for the Gilgit road[57]. They were known by the Kram name.

Bombas

The Bombas were found chiefly in the Machipura tehsil which they held as revenue-free. They were poor but originally a war like tribe and degenerated into a "feeble, ridiculous and most pitiable condition[58]. They intermarried and gave their daughters in marriage to Saiyads. The head of the Bomba family was

scarf of white calico. Then hair was done in tight plaits[76]. The women and children were beautiful but were mostly found to be dirty and na[illegible]d. They were labeled as rogues an[illegible] the[illegible] was a lot of o[illegible] tyranny exercised on them[77]. [illegible] kram of[78] names of boatmen were Dangar, Dar and Mal.

Watals

The Watals [79] were outcastes from the community and were divided into two classes. The upper class watals followed the Muslim rules in their habits of food and were admitted into mosques and the lower class that ate carrion and were excluded from the mosques[80]. They were wandering tribe. The first class watals manufactured boats and sandals and those of the second class made winnowing trays of leather and straw and were mostly the scavengers[81]. They lived in the wattled huts at some distance from the peasants cottages. Their women were beautiful and in the city they followed the profession of dancing and singing. The out-castes had no religion so were to be trusted[82]. They married only within their own [illegible] because they were considered to be very low in the social hierarchy [83]. The other tribe which lived on the fringe of the mountains were the Gujjars who were not the Kashmiris and spoke Parim or Hindki. They were Muslims, ignorant, inoffensive and simple people[84].

The social stratification was mainly based on the economic conditions. Wealth commanded position and poverty degraded the family[85]. In the city the Kram names were purely the nicknames, the only respectable Krams were Bande, Kanth and Gan. Some of the low grade Krams assumed their surnames from the animals, insects, trades, occupations and places[86] Some of the persons were given the title Ju to be affixed to their names and they lost their Kram names[87]. In villages too the social gradation was based on the wealth and occupations. The 'Zamindar' (peasants) were superior to *taifadars* (those who were market gardeners, herdsman, boatmen, shepherds, leather workers and others).

References

1. Neve. E. F., *Things Seen in Kashmir* pp. 63-64. Neve E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panchal*, P. 59.

2. Neve, E.F., *Things seen in Kashmir*, P. 66.

3. Ibid.,

4. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 253. Neve, E.F., *Things Seen In Kashmir*, pp. 66-67.

5. Neve, E. F., *Things Seen in Kashmir*, pp. 66-67.

6. Ibid. P. 66.

7. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 253.

8. Ibid, P. 256.

9. Ibid, Lawrence has picked up many hints from them regarding the role of Patwari (village accountant) and writes that "the plots is very much the same. The Raja rides by burning to redress injustice his wazir seizes on the patwari and the Lambardar and calls for the village accounts.The unfortunate villager who has brought his grievances to the Rajas notice is at first very loud and noisy in his complaint, but as he sees the wazir and the *patwari* laying their heads together he becomes silent and sits as one fascinated. The denouement is that the wazir finds that the *patwari* is innocent and the complainant receives a severe flogging"

10. Ibid.,

11. Ibid.,

12. Ibid.,

13. Ibid., P.5, with regard to the money lenders (Bania) the proverb goes "Zamindar Bechwun Wadhwal padshah" meaning Zamindar (cultivator)becomes pauper While the money-lender gets richer.

14. Ibid.,

15. Lawrence, *The India we Served,* P. 144.

16. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet,* P. 77.

17. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 277. Randhawa N.S., and Prem Nath, *Farmers of India*, P. 232.

18. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 281.

19. Ibid., "For half an anna a man can have a regular bath, while one quarter of an anna entitles him to the privilege of standing under the tap of water"

20. Ibid.,

21. Khaste, Hargopal, Koul, *Guldast-i-Kashmir*, P. 76.

22. Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories,* P. 178.

23. Ibid, Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 282. Khaste Hargopal, Koul, *Guldast-i- Kashmir*, P. 76.

24. Ibid.,

25. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 282.

26. Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories,* pp. 178.

27. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 296. The author has given the total number of Brahmans in Kashmir as 60316 at page 302, while he gives their number as 52576 at page 296. Saif-ud-din, *Rozmancha*, Vol. VII, dated 31 January, 1854 ff. 36, 38, it is recorded that in 1854 the pandits of Srinagar numbered 25000.

28. Ibid., pp. 302-303, They were learned in the shastra and drew up the calendars in which prophecies were made about the events of the coming year. Bates, *A Gazzetter of Kashmir,* P.32. Elmslie puts the number of their houses at 100-150.

29. They performed the rites and ceremonies of the Hindu religion. They were regarded as divine and were cut off from mankind. Bates, *A Gazzeetter of Kashmir,* P. 32. The author has recorded the remarks of Dr. Elmslie who puts the number of their houses at 500.

30. They made their living out of state employment and many of them sought other occupations such as cooks, bakers, confectioners, and tailors and other professions except those of

cobblers, potters, corn-friers, porters, boatmen, carpenters, masons, or vegetable and fruit sellers. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 136. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 32.

31. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 302-303.

32. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 52-53. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 304. Lawrence records that there were eighteen known gotras among the Levite Brahmans and 103 among the other Brahmans in Kashmir, while as the *Census of India* (1981) *Kashmir*, P. 135, gives the number of gotras as 133.

33. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 183, 152-53, "The Malamasis, or the old stock are the strictest Hindus, and are followers of Siva and Vishnu, confining themselves to the practices of their religion". see also *Census of India (1891) Kashmir*, P. 136. They stuck to lunar calendar.

34. The Brehmasis comprised generally the tradesmen and Munshis etc. Most of them had come from outside and stuck to solar calendar. *Census of India (1891) Kashmir*, P.136.

35. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 305. *Census of India (1891) Kashmir*, P. 139.

36. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 29.

37. Thornton, Edward, *Gazetteer of the Countries, adjacent to India on the north*, op. cit., P. 368.

38. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 305, some of the Jinsi Sikhs who lived on the alms of the state were asked to work by Ranbir Singh in 1853. See Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. II, dated 15 August, 1953, f.26.

39. Ibid.,

40. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 305.

41. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 308.

42. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 179.

43. They were the descendents of Hindus and lived partly in the Villages.

44. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 306.

45. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 31.

46. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 306-307.

47. Ibid., The author has recorded that "Azad, the Pathan tyrant, sliced of the ears of an old and faithful servant because he was slow, and banished him to Lolab. His descenders are numerous and their Kram kana-chattu, the "crop-eared".

48. Ibid.,

49. Ibid., Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 31.

50. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 308.

51. Ibid.,

52. Ibid., Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 31.

53. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 308. The Saiyads could hesitate to marrying in other classes. Neve, B.Y., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 83. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, P.22.

54. Ibid.,

55. Ibid., P. 309.

56. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 309.

57. Ibid., "The Afridis, or khyberis as they are called, furnish thirty-five men for service on the Gilgit road, and the Machipuri as twenty-five. In payment for this they hold certain villages free of revenue".

58. Ibid.,

59. Ibid.,

60. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 309-310.

61. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 130.

62. Robert Thorp, *Cashmere Misgovernment*, op. cit., P. 52.

63. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 311.

64. Ibid., pp. 311-312.

65. Ibid., 361-362 and 312.

66. Ibid., P. 361. The proverb "Hob norval yar Subhdar" is applied to the choupans which means that "the mountain is the magistrate, and the pins the policeman, and both are alike deaf to

the complaints of the villagers". Ghulam-Mohy-ud-din. *Roznamcha*, Vol. XIII, dated Jan. 18, 1861. ff. 11, 13. The Shepherds were asked to keep arms for the protection of their sheep and also for the protection of frontiers.

67. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 313.

68. Drew, *The Jammoo & Kashmir Territories*

69. Lawrence, The Valley, P. 313.

70. Ibid.,

71. Ibid.,

72. Ibid., pp. 313-314.

73. Lawrence, *The Valley*, The author has rightly traced the picture of their quarrels when "a quarrel arises between members of two boats, one woman stands up on the prow of the boat and commence a torrent of invective, to which the one in the other boat promptly replies. The men remain sealed listening with interest to the dialogue. If night sets in before the women are exhausted, they invert their rice baskets (paj) which signifies that the quarrel is not ended, but laid aside till morning, when the wordy warfare is recommended with fresh vigour".

74. Dugsal, *Letters From India and Kashmir*, pp.169-170.

75. Ibid., Del Mar Walter, *The Romantic East*, op. cit P.187. The author records the charge for the boats was one rupee eight annas per day, the use of the cooking utensils eight annas, and the hire of eight coolies at four annas each came to two rupees, making a total charge of four rupees per day, a dunga can be hired for twenty to thirty rupees a month".

76. The women did not wear burqa. Petrocokne, A *Cashmere—Three weeks in a House boat*, P. 84, Aynesley, *Our Visits to Hindustan*, P.75.

77. Ayneslay, *Our Visits to Hindustan*, P. 179. The author reports in 1870 A.D. that inquiring a boatman why he did not make his wife really a pretty women, and his children engaging little things, wash everyday and wear clean clothes, his explanation was that if he kept his wife cleaner than those of

other boatmen, the Baboo would report to the Vakeel that he has earning more money and he would be more heavily taxed. See also Bayley, Viola, *Kashmir Adventure*, pp. 12-13.

78. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 314.

79. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 181. Drew, calls them by the term "Batals".

80. Ibid., Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 314.

81. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 315.

82. Ibid, Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 183.

83. Neve, E. F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 83.

84. Ibid., P. 316.

85. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 310.

86. Ibid., The Kram names after the animals were *Gagru* (rat) *Dand* (bullock), *Bror* (cat) and after the insects were *Pisu* (flea).

87. Ibid., The person who was named Habib Gadah after affixing Ju came to be known as Habib Ju, Sultan Guzarban was named Sulju.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, EDUCATION AND MEDICAL LIFE

CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES

The customs and ceremonies connected with the birth, marriage and death among the Muslims and Hindus[1] in Kashmir were many and interesting[2]. Both the Hindus and the Muslims believed that the natural calamities were the result of the *ginis* and God or goddesses [3] and these could be warded off by invoking the deities and by performing certain religious ceremonies. Similar ceremonies were performed by them at the out-break of cholera or small-pox [4]. They were so superstitious that the teeth of elephants were taken as teeth of *Jin* and were considered most sacred by the Pandits[5].

They believed in witchcraft. According to George Buhler the followers of Lord Shiva were famous for their proficiency in black art [6]. These people attributed their family evils, troubles and losses to witch craft and evil sprits [7]. The Hindu also believed in evil eye and bad omen[8].

Many ceremonies were performed by the Hindus and Muslims on the birth of child. The mother had to use the straw bed at the time of confinement, known as *Hurru* and the mother was known as *Losa* [9]. The head of the baby-child was shaved at a fixed time and a great ceremony was performed in the house[10] The sacred thread was invested to the male child after attaining the age of seven years and before he reached his thirteen year and the ceremony was called Yagneopavit [11].

When the child was born in a Muslim household, the priest whispered the Azan into the right ear of the child and repeated the same into his left ear. The heads of both male and female

babies were clean shaved. A ceremony was performed when the child was circumcised (*Khutna*) and the child was placed on a basket under which the cock was cooped, perquisite of the barber[12].

Among both the Hindus and Muslims the marriages were arranged by the middle man (*Manzimyor*) and the selection was made by the parents[13]. The ceremony on marriage of a Hindu was called *Lagan* [14] and that of the Muslims was known as *Nikah* [15]. Among the Muslims the system of *Khana-damadi*[16] was prevalent which was a torture on the boys. Among the pandits the system of dowry was common [17], and after the marriage ceremony the girl could visit her father's house on the condition that the later when he invited her had to pay *teth* " a severe tax on the pandits blessed with daughters".[18]

Muslims as well as Hindus made offerings to the dead on some prescribed occasions. The Hindu performed the *Shradaha* [19] ceremonies while the Muslims organized *Khatam-i-Sharief* [20] on the death of a person.

It was believed that the issue alone could perpetuate the family so a Hindu could adopt a son from his own *gotra* or from other *gotra* with only restriction that the adopted son had not been invested with the sacred thread[21]. The polygamy was practically unknown among the Hindus[22]. The Shariat was followed by the Muslims in case of marriage, dower (Mahr) and divorce[23].

Leisure and Recreations

During the summer, in villages, the people assembled on a chabutra (raised platform) under a plane tree in the evening where they discussed various problems and smoked the pipe[24]. In villages, games were not so popular as in the city.

Snow Games

In winter at the first snow, the people tried to deceive their friends with something concealed in a piece of cloth with the remarks "Na Shin Mubarak" which means "the snow is innocent[25]. The deceived person was forced either to dance or to

entertain the deceiver with the feast. This game was quite equal to the making of April-fool [26].

Mimic Warfare

Before the time of Maharaja Gulab Singh different wards of Srinagar "used to turn out with slings and stones, and played a very earnest and serious game"[27]. But Maharaja Gulab Singh did not approve of this fighting spirit, and put a stop to this mimic warfare[28].

Tipcot

It was common all over India and was played in Srinagar too. In this game the loser had to give a ride to the winner on his back[29]. In Punjab it was called Dundo-Litti [30].

Hop–scotch was a common game and one of the seven compartments was known as "hell"[31].

Little girls had their rag dolls, arranged their marriages and carried them in toy Palankins [32]. Kashmir was also celebrated for wrestling [33].

On the river banks one could see three or four women or girls sitting in a ring presenting their backs to each other[34]. Each one seemed to be "Scratching the head of one in front, but, as a matter of fact, they have reverted to type, to their ancestors of the forests, and are relieving one another of irritating lodgers-in fact, according to scout row, each doing a good turn" [35].

On festival occasions, the young women danced in groups in the form of semi-circle. They sung pretty songs and their dance was graceful [36].

Music and Dances

Dancing was confined to the nautch girls to which we find many references[37]. The nautch girls sang Sufiana Kalam and Kashmiri ghazals with the Hafiz Naghma for expressing visually the meaning of the song[38]. These nautch girls were maintained at the state expenses by the Afghans[39] and the Sikh governor[40] also were enchanted by these dancing girls. Maharaja Gulab Singh

and Maharaja Ranbir Singh also maintained the nautch girls for themselves and for the European guests[41].

Fairs and Festivals

Fairs and festivals had great importance in the lives of the people. The fairs held at the shrines annually were a "red letter day in the dull lives of the Muslims"[42]. There were usually no social gatherings except that the people gathered at the fairs and festivals. In the shrines different castes and people of different religions as the Hindus [43] and the Sikhs [44] went in deep reverence. It was at these fairs that the people bought different articles such as pretty Kangaris, wooden patttens, glass bangles, necklaces, and painted clay toys[45]. The people from all parts of the Valley attended the fairs particularly those celebrated at the Hazratbal [46]. These shrines were responsible for "an intense superstition[47]. The people were exploited by the agency (pirs) connected with the shrines—who gave them amulets (Tawiz) for the redemption of their ills[48].

The Kashmiris celebrated fairs and festivals with great enthusiasm[49]. The Kashmiris of the city hailed the spring with joy and flocked to the almond-gardens (Badamwari) and witnessed the sweet lilacs[50]. In these gardens all classes of people belonging to different religions gathered, drinking tea and singing the songs of spring[51].

A great fair, held about the Ist of August, was known as Watal Mela (fair of Watals) when the watals went to LalaBab's shrine near Nasim Bagh on the Dal Lake[52]. The watals on this day settled many matters of their tribe and marriage alliances were made[53]. Everyone came to the lake, the poorer classes on foot and a "succession of feasting, singing and naching is kept up for forty-eight hours and the entertainments are enlivened by the performances of itinerant bards"[54].

The religious festivals of the Muslims in Kashmir were Moharram, Id-ul-Fitr, Id-ul-Zuha [55], Milad-un-Nabi, Shabi-Barat, Shabi-Qadr and Shabi-Miraj. A procession was taken out by the *Shias* on the eve of Moharram[56], who recited the verses on

the heroic deeds of Imam-i-Hussain. Id-ul-Fitr [57] was celebrated by the people after the month of fasting (Ramzan).The Muslims also celebrated the festivals such as Urs-i-Shah-i-Hamadan, Urs-i-Hazratbal, Urs-i-Nur-Din at Chrar-i-Sharief, Urs-i-Dastgir Sahib (Khanyar), Urs-i-Makhdum Sahib (Hari Parbat), [58]. At Hazratbal, five or six fairs were held in the course of the year-when the holy hair was exhibited [59]. The people went in the boats (Shikaras and Dungas) with tea and other dishes. Some played on guitars and drums while singing [60]. The villagers also took keen interest by participating in these festivals[61].

The most important among the festivals of Kashmir pandits were the Shivratri (Herat) when they had to present gifts to their married daughters and made offerings to an incarnation of Shiva[62] and celebrated Nawrah (Navratra), Har Navmi, Ram Navmi (Maha Navmi),[63] Janam Ashtmi[64]. They also celebrated Raksha Bandan, Baisakhi and Dussehra [65]. The festival of Holi was celebrated by the Punjabi Hindus and Maharaja Gulab Singh also participated in the celebration. He engaged many Hanjis and rich pandits and also dancers and musicians were asked to attend the festivals[66]. Diwali was also celebrated by the Punjabi Hindus[67]. Likewise the festival of Dussehra was celebrated in the valley[68].

Maharaja Gulab Singh introduced the harvest-home festivals (Ankot)[69] and spent a huge amount on the festivals for preparing feasts for the city population on the second day of Diwali. The autumn cereals were prepared and no meat was eaten on the day, at Basant Bagh[70].

Position of Women

The women of Kashmir performed different works after preparing their meals. They husked and ground the grains[71]. The village women had to look after the affairs of their houses and family when their husbands were away to perform the Begar (forced labour)[72]. The Kashmiri women, particularly the city women, spun the pash into the reels [73].

The system of child-marriage was common both among the Hindus and the Muslims[74]. Many girls became widows when their child husbands died and they could not remarry [75]. The men did not mal-treat their wives[76]. The purdah (burqa) was common among the city people and the women of agricultural, and working classes never took it [77].

During the period under review the institution of prostitution encouraged by the government[78]. The government derived a considerable income from the institution and regularized the sale and purchase of girls, each costing about hundred rupees chilkee during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh[79]. The two main centres of prostitution in Srinagar were at Maisuma and Tashwan (near Fateh Kadal). The women preferring prostitution could not marry to live the life of a respectable persons[80]. The sale of women was a serious social evil in the valley[81]. The system of *sati* was prohibited in Kashmir since the Muslim rule but under the Sikhs some cases of *sati* were reported [82]. In 1847 A.D. Maharaja Gulab Singh passed a proclamation prohibiting the *sati*[83].

EDUCATION

Kashmir had her indigenous system of education .The students were taught at the Maktaba and Pathshalas attached to the Mosques and Temples respectively. The education imparted was through the media of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit language. There were also the shathles, the private schools[84]. The teacher got presents from the parents of the students on the eve of introduction of new books or at the time of the investiture of their sacred thread[85] or when they got married. The profession of teachers was hereditary[86]. The students were taught reading, writing and a little arithmetic [87]. The Persian works, Gulistan, Bostan, Karima, Nami Haq and Sikander-Nama were taught to the students[88].

The educational institutions of Hindu and Muslims were financed by the Dharmarth department. In 1873 A.D., the educational institutions supported by the government in the city

were *pathshala* at Nawa Kadal, Maharaj Gunj and Basant Bagh[89]. The government spent Rs.35,372 on education-out of it Rs.11,875 accounted for the salaries of teachers and Rs.1,567 were spent on the maintenance of institutions, Rs.2,268 on free rations, Rs.18661 on scholar,Rs.40 as reward, Rs 1137 on the purchase of books for the use of scholars[90]. Maharaja Ranbir spent Rs.17737 on the translation works[91]. On seeing the backwardness of the Kashmiris the English government sent the missionaries to Kashmir and in 1854 A.D. colonel Martin and Rev. Robert Clerk came to Kashmir. They were well received by Maharaja Gulab Singh[92]. But it was seen in future that the government remained quite indifferent to the activities of the missionaries[93], whether education or medical. They did not like to make their subjects politically conscious by spreading education[94]. In the year 1880 A.D. Rev. J.H. Knowles founded the C.M.S. school and had to undertake ten years spade-work in laying the foundation of the school[95]. He was also helped with the short services of Rev. C.L.E. Burges, who taught Brahman boys carpentary[96]. But the experiment was a failure due to the social caliber of the Brahmans[97].

The people of Kashmir, on the whole, were not interested in modern education. The villagers set up the mosque school where the rural Muslims could read and write Persian with ease[98]. They did not want state assistance but believed in the old-fashioned idea that homely morals were better than the scholarship and advanced thought, which was born of the state schools[99]. The Muslims of Srinagar were less influenced by modern education than the Hindus[100], because most of them were the artisans[101] and the state was also quite indifferent to their education[102]. Female education was far behind. The women were very conservative due to ignorance and superstition and were under the influence of the ignorant priests. The women were termed by men "but animals"[103].

Medical Life

The people of Kashmir believed in their own physicians (Hakims) who were experienced and had great ability [104]. The

medicine was based on Greek system and cured their patients with the herbs and valued plants, which were collected by the shepherds for them. They did not dabble in surgery which was done by the barbers [105]. Leeches were applied in some cases. There were some wise women in the villages who had a considerable knowledge of the properties of herbs and every peasant seemed to possess the knowledge of medicinal powers of plants[106].

However, the British officers, on seeing the pitiable conditions of the people [107] subscribed Rs.14000, sent it to the C.M.S. and directed it to send a Medical missionary to Kashmir[108]. They believed that the Maharaja and his officials would welcome a doctor to their country [109]. In 1854 A.D. Maharaja Gulab Singh ordered that no European could stay in Kashmir during the winter and a complete watch was maintained on the activities of those Europeans who came to Kashmir[110]. No European was allowed to possess land or build houses in Kashmir[111]. The first three Europeans who came to Kashmir were Sir Robert Montgomery, Lietenant Governor of the Punjab, Sir Herbert Edwards, Colonel Martin and colonel Urmston [112]. On 18th April, 1864 A.D. Robert Clerk opened a school in Srinagar and on 2nd May, 1864 A.D. Mrs. Clark opened a dispensary in the city[113] inspite of the opposition of the government authorities. But they had to leave Srinagar along with the family due to the problem of residence during the winter[114].

In the spring of 1864 A.D. Dr. Elmslie arrived at srinagar[115]. His life was hard and difficult because he had no hospital, and he had to perform operations under the trees. "Orders were issued that the people were not to visit the doctor, and sepoys were stationed around to keep them away, as the sick persisted in coming for relief. Several patients suffered imprisonment for disobeying the orders of the authorities"[116]. But inspite of the opposition of the government the people flocked to Dr. Elmslie and during the summer of 1867 A.D. when the epidemic of cholera was raging, he offered the government his help which

was not accepted. Dr. Elmslie died in 1872 A.D. after working for eight years, Rev. T.R. Wade [117] worked with him and did excellent work in the early days of medical mission. Then Dr. Theodore Maxwell was sent to Kashmir[118]. The Maharaja granted a site for the Mission Hospital, on a hill called Rustum Garhi, below Takht-i-Sulimen[119]. In 1870 A.D., the government opened the first state dispensary in srinagar[120].

In the terrible famine [121] of 1877-79 A.D. Rev. Mr. Wade [122] and Dr. Downes[123], brought food from India and started the relief work. They opened "an orphanage for the orphan children and an asylum for destitute women, and in various ways did their best to alleviate the sufferings of the stricken [124]. They were followed by a long chain of medical missionary doctors [125]. During the period under study the villagers came to have a great faith in European medicines but in the city and larger towns Kashmir's usually resorted to their own Hakims for treatment of ordinary diseases and consulted the Europeans for surgical complaints or when "in extremis"[126].

RELIGION

The population of Kashmir was estimated at about 8,14,241 during the last years of our period of study. The Hindus were 52,576, the Sikhs were 4,092 and the rest, more than 93% of the total population of the valley were the Muslims [127]. The Muslim population consisted of two main sects-Sunnis and Shias, the later being 5 percent of the total Muslim population[128].

Mir Shamas-ud-din Iraqi was deputed as an ambassador to the court of Sultan Hassan Shah of Kashmir (1450 A.D.) and he introduced the Shia sect in the valley after a great opposition[129] Main pursuits of Shias were trade, shawl-industry and Papier Machie. There was a colony of Iranian[130] Shia traders in Srinagar dealing in shawls. They were looked upon by the Sunnis as out castes and alluded to them as Ahl-i-Tashia or Rafizi [131].They resided at Zadibal and Hassanabad in Srinagar and Saidpura and Ahmadpura in the Kamraj district[132]. During the period under

study there took place serious riots and conflicts between the Shias and Sunnis of the valley[133].

Sunnis

The great majority of the Sunni Muslims of Kashmir belonged to the Hanafi sect, but Kubravis-followers of Mir Saiyad Ali Hamadani were of the Shafia persuation [134]. They were free from all kinds of fanaticism except in the case of Shias. They observed strictly the fast of Ramazan. Lawrence W.R, has observed that the Kashmiri Muslims were Hindus at heart and laxed in observing Islamic practices. They paid more respect to saints, shrines, relics and the religion of Islam was too abstract to satisfy their superstitious cravings [135]. Some of them went to Mecca on Pilgrimage[136].

It was during the period under study that an attempt was made to introduce the Wahhabi doctrines into Kashmir and about 200 families in the Shupiyan tehsil accepted the Wahhabi faith. But Maharaja Ranbir Singh stamped out the propagandists[137].

Hindus

The Hindu population consisted of the pandits and the business community of Bohras[138]. The Hindus regarded Kashmir as the holy land[139]. In the valley of Kashmir forty five places were dedicated to Mahadev and sixty-four to Vishnu, three to Brahma and twenty two to Durga. In seven hundred places there were carved figures of snakes, which they worshipped [140]. The Hindus worshipped five principal deities [141] —Shiva, Surya, Ganapati, Bhawani and Vishnu. The votaries of Shiva were more numerous than those of the rest put together [142]. They marked their forehead with Kessar (Suffron) horizontally and the followers of Vishnu marked their forehead vertically [143].

Khir Bhawani

The Khir Bhawani spring with its temple is the sacred abode of Hindu goddess Rajanya. It is situated at Tula-Mulla[144]. The Hindus believed that the water of the spring changed colour which usually had a violet tinge and turned into black hue, giving the indication of an imminent calamity like famine or

cholera[145]. The Hindus abstained from meat on the days when they visited the Khir Bhawani [146]. The goddess Sita Mata, the deity governing small-pox was propitiated at the out break of severe small-pox and offerings of sheep, goats, horses or donkeys and eyes of gold or silver were made to goddess. These offerings were actually received by priests at the Hari Parbat shrine[147]. The offerings of lives and hearts of sheep were made by the pandits to Sharika Devi, the goddess with eighteen arms with a temple dedicated to her at Hari Parbat and at Jawala Mukhi in Khriv [148]. The goddess Uma, whose temple was in a tank near Kachewan was adored by her votaries[149].

The Hindus also visited some other places of pilgrimage in the valley. The most important and famous was the Amarnath cave-which was visited by the pilgrims from all parts of Kashmir and India[150]. The government provided all sorts of facilities to the pilgrims[151]. They were led by a Lal Gir Sadhu from Amritsar and the march was stolen by Maharaja Ranbir Singh[152].

Gangbal

It was one of the most beautiful spots with a lake and it was in the Sindh Valley. The lake was considered as sacred as the Ganges[153]. Its water was considered holy and bottles of it were carried by the pilgrims[154]. The Hindus resorted to it after the death of a parent to immerse the ashes of the deceased. The pilgrimage to Haramukh satisfied the piety of the Hindus. It was extremely difficult and dangerous[155].

The reservoir fed by the holy fountain in the village Mattan (tehsil Anantnag) was considered to be sacred by the Hindus as Gaya or Kurukshetra. They performed here various ceremonies (sacred hair-cut of their children) and other religious rites[156]. The votaries signed the register after paying some cash to the priest[157]. They also worshipped the natural phenomenon[158].

Hindu-Muslim Relations

There existed cordial relations between the two communities and both the communities respected their religious places. They often worshipped the same object interpreting that according to

their own religion [159]. There was very little fanaticism and religious toleration was completely observed[160]. The Hindus of Kashmir were not particular about the pollution by touch[161]. They drank water brought by a Muslim and would eat food cooked by the Muslim boatman[162]. The foster-mother of Hindu children was usually a Muslim woman and foster brother often obtained much affection and influence in a Hindu house hold[163]. However, Maharaja Gulab Singh did not like the system and severely interdicted the eating of cheese and drinking of water brought by Muslim[164]. He also forbade the Hindus to eat the Halal meat and opened new shops for the Hindu butchers for selling the meat[165]. But the Hindus did not comply with his edicts[166].

References

1. Neve, E. F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 240. The author writes that The Hindus whole life from the hour of his birth till the day when he dies and his son sets light to his funeral prayer is regulated by elaborate code of religious rites, ceremonies and customs. These involve daily worship with ablutions and offerings to idols of flowers and food, frequent fastings and the observance of very large number of holy days.

2. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 257-271. Biscoe, *Kashmir In Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 153-168.

3. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sulight and Shade*, P. 63. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 328-331.

4. During the period under study we have many references on the performance of Naful by the Muslims who flocked from all parts of the valley to Charar-i-Sharief. Lawrence the valley, P. 288, when scarcity is imminent where calamities such as Earth quake, cholera and drought occur thousands gather there and sit

silent on the Hills and begging for pardon. The great place for the confession of sins is the Idgah, a level grass plain lying between the city and the Anchar Dal. Both the Maharajas believed in the hand of God in the natural calamities so asked the People to perform the *Nafil*. even the Hindus too were asked to indulge in the Religious ceremonies on the occurance of some natural calamities at Hari Parbat See Saif-ud-din, *Roznamcha*, Vol.,V dated 1852., ff.37 and 63. Vol. VIII, dated 1855, F. 129.

5. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*. P. 63. Lawerence, *The Valley*, pp. 263-64,

6. Hugel, B.C. *Kashmir and the Punjab*, pp. 169. Biscoe. *Kashmir in Sunlight and the Shade*. P. 165.

7. Buhler,George,Tour in search of Sanskrit MS.1875.cf. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp,.299, f,n, Saif-ud-din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. X, dated jan.19, 1857, ff. 15. 17. The two kothadars of Srinagar Wasu Dev and Deviki Nanda had employed some Brahmans to gain Maharajas favor by means of with craft when exposed, both of them were put into prison. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I., pp.328-31. The author remarks that the movement of log in the spring caused by whirpool-was considered as something animated under the influence of Devi or the spirits of the place.

8. Biscoe, *Kashmir In Sunlight and Shade*, P.159, The author remarks that if anyone left his home in the morning and if an ugly women or a one eyed person or a dog or donkey came from the opposite direction, the person would have either to retrace his steps or passed the time in great anxiety fearing some misfortune"

9. For full details see Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 258-59.

10. Ibid., P.260.Biscoe, *Kashmir in sunlight and shade*, pp.153-54

11. Ibid.

12. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 270-71.

13. Ibid., P. 261, Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 155 and 161, Petrocokina, A., *Cahsmere —Three Weeks in a House-boat*, pp. 84-85.

14. Biscoe, *Kashmir In Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 155., Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 261-262.

15. Biscoe, *Kashmir In Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 161-162., Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 267-268.

16. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 267-268, "The system of Khanadamadi is said to have become common in Sikh times, and if forced labour was wanted for transport the unfortunate khanadamad was always sent. If he came back alive he won his bride. If he died it did not matter as the son of the house, at any rate, escaped. At present the custom of Khanadamadi is very popular. It has two advantages. In the first place, the father of the girl receives a drudge, who works like a slave for seven years, and in the second place, the expenses on betrothal and marriage are very small. Some men are very unscrupulous in the matter of khanadamadi, and turn boys out of their house on some small pretext and give their daughters to a stranger, but as a rule, the boy who has worked out his tern of probation gets his bride".

17. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 262, Bazaz, P.N., *Daughters of Vitasta*, P. 253.

18. It was paid on all the great holidays, anniversaries, domestic events, and birthdays. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 262.

19. Ibid., P. 263.

20. Ibid., P. 271.

21. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 266.

22. Ibid., pp. 266-267.

23. Ibid., pp. 269 and 296.

24. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, P. 356.

25. Even today the people in Kashmir deceive their friends at the first snowfall in winter by presenting a thing especially a "kangri" to which is attached the snow, with the remarks 'Shin-i-Sharit' which means "to have won the bet", and the deceived person is asked to give feast of "Harsa" (a Kashmiri dish prepared from meat).

26. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, P. 365. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 272.

27. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 255. *Imperial Gazetteer*, P. 41, Forster, George, *A Journey*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 33, f.n. The author calls it as the favorite weapon of Kashmiris. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated March 21, 1850, f. 41.

28. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 225. *Imperial Gazetteer*, P. 41.

29. Ibid.,

30. Chhabra, G.S., *Socio-Economic History of Punjab*, P. 69.

31. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 255.

32. Ibid.,

33. Ibid.,

34. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 106.

35. Ibid.,

36. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 266.

37. Forster, *A Journey*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 24-25 and 32. Hugel B.C., *Travels in Kashmir and Punjab*, P. 146. Honigberger, *Thirty-Five Years in The East*, P. 183. Wakefield, *Kashmir and the Kashmiris*, P. 170. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 182.

38. Wakefield, *Kashmir and The Kashmiris*, P. 170.

39. Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. II, P. 673. The Afghan Governor Amir Khan Jawan Sher maintained a large number of nautch girls and spent most of his time in the Dal gardens enjoying their music and dances.

40. Hugel, *Travels In Kashmir and Punjab*, P. 146, The author writes about the nautch girls that "these poor creatured are doomed to a hard fate, they are not allowed either to sing or dance without permission, and if they get this, an officer of the Government always accompanies them, who grasps whatever they receive".

41. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. III, dated Aug. 1854, f.202., Vol. III dated 14 June, August, 1850., ff. 56, 90, 95. Vol. VIII dated 22 May, June, August, 1855, ff. 59, 66, 74, 82, 92, 107. See also Honigberger, *Thirty Five Years in the East,* P. 183. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir,* pp. 170-171. Del Mar, Water, *The Romantic East,* op. cit., P. 188.

42. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 289.

43. As was the case with regard to the shrine of Hazratbal. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. III, dated 14 June, 1850, f.51.

44. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 375.

45. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 289.

46. Neve, Arthur, *Thirty Years in Kashmir,* pp. 301-302. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. III, dated June, 1850, f. 51, Vol. V, dated 18 May, October, 1852, ff. 58 and 90.

47. 46. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 293., "The saints can cure all kinds of illness, and a man has only to anoint himself with a kind of fuller's earth, found at Nur Din's shrine at Rishipura in the Katahar Valley to become well. A charm from a holy man will arrest the spread of rai, which is so disastrous to the rice crop, and it is a saint who shuts in the cold wind on the Banihal and prevents it from destroying the rice plants in the valley below"—See also Ibid., P.233.

48. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 36., These amulets "consist of the names of God, the name of Muhammad, the names of Mussalman saints, or verses from Quran. The paper on which these are written is usually sewn into a piece of cloth, generally of red, colour and then tied round the arm or attached to the weaver's dress".

49. Wakefield, *Kashmir and the Kashmiris,* pp. 157-158.

50. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 26. Vigne, *Travels,* Vol. II. P. 93. Forster, Geogre, *A Journey,* op. cit., Vol. II, P. 17.

51. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 280. Neve Arthur, *Picturesque Kashmir,* P. 36.

52. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. X, dated 3 July, 1857, f. 170. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 375, Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 315. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh,* P. 794. *Imperial Gazetteer,* P. 38. Wakefield, *Kashmir and the Kashmiris,* pp. 157-158.

53. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 315, Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 375.

54. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 375., in Kashmiri language this dance was called Watal Dambeel.

55. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. II, dated, Oct., 27, 1849, f. 75.

56. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh,* f. 2003-204.

57. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. VII, dated June, 1854, f. 153.

58. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 292.

59. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* P. 375, Neve Arthur, *Thirty Years in Kashmir,* pp. 301-302., Wakefield, *Kashmir and The Census of India,* Part I, 1911, P. 102. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. III, dated 14 June, 1850, ff. 51 and 56, Vol. V, dated 17, 22 May, Oct., 1852, ff. 58, 60, 90, Vol. VII, Dated 19 June, 1855, f. 146. Vol. X, dated August 8, 1857, f. 212. On the death of Maharaja Gulab Singh his son Ranbir Singh banned the Muslims to celebrate the day of Chaharyar at Hazratbal and forbade the exhibition of the holy hair. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 293.

60. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. V, dated 17, 22 May, Oct., 1852, ff. 58, 60, 90, Vol. III dated 6, 14 June, 1850, ff. 51, 56. See also *Census of India,* Part II, 1911, P. 102.

61. Neve, Arthur, *Thirty Years in Kashmir,* pp. 301-302.

62. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 266. Saif-ud-Din, P. 266, Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. III dated March 21, 1850, f. 38, Feb. 18, 1852, Vol. V, f. 22.

63. Ibid., See also Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha,* Vol. VII, dated 1854, f. 92, Vol. dated 9 April, 1851, f. 36.

64. Ibid., Vol. V, dated October, 1852, f. 69.

65. Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, P. 68.

66. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated 21 March, 1850, ff. 38-39, Vol. VII, dated 1854, ff. 77, 79-80.

67. *Census of India*, 1911, Part II, P. 98.

68. Qamar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XIII, dated 10, 12 Oct., 1861, ff. 128, 129, 130, Vol. V, 21 Oct, 1852, f. 94.

69. Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, f.225-226. Saif-ud-Din., *Roznamcha*, Vol. V, dated 20 Oct., 1851, f. 108. Vol. V, dated 1852, f. 87, Vol. VIII, dated 1855, ff, 135,137, Vol. III dated 31 Oct., 1850, ff. 138-141.

70. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 272, "The feasts for the better class Pandits and Musalmans are very prettily arranged. The guests sit down to their white rice and other dainties salt and sweet. For the common herd there are platters of red rice with a portion of vegetables, but their feast is a scramble, and the hungry scavengers rush in and sweep up broken platters, dust and rice".

71. Wakefield, *Kashmir and The Kashmiris*, pp. 92-93, 115. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 35. Petrocokina, *Cahmere-Three Weeks in a House Boat*, P. 85., Norris.

72. Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. II, P. 78.

73. Robert Throp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit., P. 62. Dugsal, *Letters from India and Kashmir*, P. 206. Schonberg, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 131-132. Wakefield, *Kashmir and The Kashmiris*, pp. 144-145.

74. 73. The Muslims married their daughters at the age of seven years, mostly due to the , requirement of Khana-damad. See Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 267.

75. Ibid., "The miseries caused by this un-natural system of child widowhood, can be better imagined than described, and one of the saddest incidents of the cholera of 1892 is the number of girls who were left widows". Neve, E.F., *Beyond The Pir Panjal*, P. 240.

76. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 72-73.

77. Ibid., P. 143.

78. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VII, dated Jan. 26, 1854, ff. 32, Vol. X, f.33, dated Jan. 26, 1854, ff. 32, Vol. X, f. 33, dated Jan. 17, 1857. f. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

79. Robert Thorp, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

80. Ibid., Brinkman, *Wrongs in Kashmir*, op. cit., P. 32., Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XIII, dated 8 Feb., 1861, f. 23. Some twelve cases of aged prostitute women were exempted from taxes.

81. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VI, dated 15 Sept., 1853., f. 104. Vigne, *Travels*. Vol. II, P. 114. The girls of Watal tribes were mainly sold and sent to Punjab as slaves.

82. Mirjanpuri, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 176., Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 12, At the death of Ranjit Singh five Kashmiri girls were burnt alive with him.

83. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VI, dated 24 Jan., 1853, f.10. It is recorded that Mina Ranbir Singh forbade the widow of Bhai Hukum Singh, darogha of cash receipts to perform the sati which she was ready to do at the funeral ceremony of her husband.

84. Girdlestone, *Memorandum*, op. cit., P. 10.

85. Girdlestone, *Memonrandum*, op. cit., P. 10. Khasta Hargopal Koul, *Guldast-i-Kashmir*, P. 228. The famous Sanskrit scholars were Pandit Damodar Nagim and Sahib Ram Pandit while as in Persian Mirza Ahad Muqbil was a scholar worthy of praise.

86. Girdlestone, *Memorandum*, op. cit., P. 8.

87. Ibid., P.10.

88. Ibid.,

89. *Majmu-i-Report*, 1873, P. 114.

90. Ibid., P. 63.

91. Ibid., P. 64.

92. Neve, E.F. *Beyond the Pir Panjal,* P. 68, It is cited there that Maharaja Gulab Singh told the missionaries that "My subjects in Kashmir are very bad. I am sure that no one can do them any harm. I am rather conscious to see whether Padri Sahibs can do them any good".

93. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade,* P. 242., "It is also interesting to note that whereas in the early days of 1860 the then Maharaja would not grant the doctor an inch of ground at first on which to put up even a hut, in which to care for his sick subjects..."

94. Arthur Brinkman, *The Wrongs of Kashmir,* op. cit., P. 23., The author records that "The rajah will not allow education there but to blind us sends a few thousand rupees occasionally to our Punjab schools. The Cashmerees are not allowed to improve in any way by the rajah. "Keep them grinding for our benefit, is the sole thought of their rulers. If Thomas Hood had ever been to Serinaghur the 'Song of the Shawl', would have made him more pathetic than he has in his 'Song of the shirt".

95. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade,* P. 260.

96. Ibid.,

97. Ibid., pp. 260-261.. The author records that one of the Brahmans "arrived at man's estate, wished to take unto himself a wife, but no Brahman could be induced to give his daughter to a man who was engaged in such an ungentlemanly job as that of a carpenter. He put up with his lonely condition for some time, but finally the desire for a spouse proved greater than love for his age and saw, so he gave up his unholy profession and took up the work of a Chaprasi, which was considered to be an honourable profession".

98. Lawrence, *The Valley,* P. 229.

99. Ibid.,

100. Neve E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 256.

101. *Census of India*, 1901, Part I, P. 12.

102. See for details Khan, Muhammad Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, pp. 156-157.

103. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 258.

104. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 232., They were 300 in number. The state also aided the hospitals called Dar-ul-Shafa, Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IX, dated Nov., 7, 1856, f. 234. In 1861 A.D. Maharaja Ranbir Singh ordered that fifty sons of the physicians (Hakims) of Srinagar should be selected for receiving medical training in Jammu. Qamar-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XIII, dated Sept. 15, 1861, ff. 110, 114.

105. Ibid., There were 1,900 barbers in the Valley.

106. Ibid., Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, P. 17.

107. Lawrence, *The India We Served*, P. 128. Schonberg, *Travels in India and Kashmir*, Vol. II, P. 8., Brinkman, *Wrongs of Kashmir*, pp. 13-19. Torrens, *Travels*, op. cit., P. 301. Temple, *Journal*, op. cit., Vol., I. P. 302.

108. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 239-240.

109. Ibid., P. 240.

110. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 240. Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. XIII, dated 1,2, Feb., 1861, ff. 19-20.

111. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 178. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 37.

112. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 239.

113. Clark Robert, *The Missions of the C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. in the Punjab and Sindh*, pp. 168-169, Cf. Khan, Ishaq Khan, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

114. Ibid.,

115. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 240.

116. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 240. See also Brinkmen, *Wrongs of Kashmir*, op. cit., P. 36.

117. Friend of India, *Newspaper*. Cf., Brinkman. *Wrongs of Kashmir*, pp. 37-38.

118. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 240. Neve Arthur, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, P. 29.

119. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 240.

120. Neve, E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 71. *Imperial Gazetteer*, P. 12. Dr. Neve Arthur, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, pp. 301-302, the author has described this hospital as the second pilgrimage centre, the first being Hazratbal.

121. Full details vide Chapter.........

122. Neve, Arthur, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, pp. 29-31.

123. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

124. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 242., See also, Neve, E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 266.

125. Ibid.,

126. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 231.

127. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 284.

128. Ibid.,

129. Ibid.,

130. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, P. 85.

131. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 284.

132. Ibid.,

133. Ibid., The contemporary Persian manuscripts and other sources throw a flood of light on the timely Shia-Sunni conflicts during the period under study., Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 85., Vol. I, P. 492, Hasan, *Tarikh*, Vol. I, P. 492, During the reign of Ranbir Singh in 1872 A.D. a severe and prolonged conflict took place. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. IX, dated Sept. 8, 1856., ff. 172-173, Vol. III dated Sept. 1, 1850, f. 109, Khanyari, Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh, ff. 202-203.

134. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 285.

135. Ibid., pp. 286-294., Some varieties of trees were considered sacred and the Muslims took vows under them not to commit sin in future. People adored the Kikar tree from Mecca, planted at Hazratbal, While visiting the shrine on auspicious days. Vigne,

136. *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 92.

137. Ibid.,

138. *Census of India, Kashmir*, 1891, P. 131.

139. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Cf. Lawrence, The Valley, P. 297.

140. Ibid.,

141. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 139-140.

142. Thornton, Edward, *Gazetteer of the Countries*, op. cit., Vol. I, P. 367.

143. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, P. 140.

144. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 296.

145. Ibid.,

146. Ibid., P. 297, *Temple Journals*, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 35.

147. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 264.

148. Ibid., P. 297.

149. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, P. 352., It was the most beautiful spot where Hindus used to come to pay respects to the goddess.

150. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 298.

151. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 29., The Government spent Rs. 15,000 annually.

152. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 298. The author writes "that tale has been told to me by the Maliks of the Late Maharaja Ranbir Singh distinguish himself as a villager and steeling a march on the Amritsar Sadhu, when the pilgrims arrived they found the Maharaja seated in the cave, and though the Maliks enjoyed the incident, the Hindus regarded it as a dangerous breach of precedent".

153. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 151-152.

154. Ibid., P. 153.

155. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 298.

156. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 26.

157. Ibid.,

158. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 299. They came to worship the fires, snakes and the sun.

159. Ibid., The author remarks that certain places were held in reverence by Hindus and Muslims alike. "As an instance, at Fattehpura in the Vernag Ilaka, and at Wanipura in the Magam Ilaka, I have seen the imprint of a foot in a stone worshipped by the Musalmans as Kadam-i-Rasul, (the Prophet's foot print) and by the Hindus as Vishnu pad (Vishanu's foot).

160. Ibid., Also see Neve, E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 164. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, P. 76.

161. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, P. 32., Talking about the Hindus of Kashmir, the author makes the mention that "very little distinction seems to exist between them and the Mohammadans are permitted to touch their drink and diet without objection.

162. Lawrence, The Valley, P. 300. Neve, E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, P. 82.

163. Lawrence, *The Valley*, P. 300.

164. Ibid,, See also Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VI, dated 12 March, 1853., ff. 20-22.

165. Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VI, dated 12 March, 1853, f. 22.

166. Ibid., This ordinance was issued by Mian Ranbir Singh, when he was incharge of Kashmir administration in 1853 A.D. on behalf of his father.

CONCLUSION

The valley of Kashmir witnessed an event in the mid nineteenth century which brought a new phase of Political, socio-economic, and cultural changes in the life of the people. The event "Sale of Kashmir" transacted by a document called the Treaty of Amritsar was signed on 16th of March 1846. The two parties seller and the buyer—British East India Company and Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu respectively met at Amritsar, 300 miles away from Kashmir and the British sold Kashmir along with its people to Dogra Raja Gulab Singh for a paltry and insignificant sum of seventy five lakhs of rupees, not a slightest provision for the good and humane government of Kashmir was laid down in the treaty. The Raja designated his possessions as the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The British East India Company was a trading company and its first and foremost objective was to acquire the wealth which it got by selling Kashmir to Gulab Singh. The people of Kashmir resented the sale and a cry against it was heard in England too. The British regretted the sale as a big political mistake. By the provisions of the Treaty Gulab Singh became the nominal ruler of Kashmir. He had to face the resistance from Shiekh Imam-ud-Din—the last governor of Kashmir, the people of Kashmir, tribes like Bombas, Khokhars, Rajas of Hazara and Gokhar. However, the Sheikh had to leave the valley on 25th October, 1846 A.D. due to British pressure and Maharaja Gulab Singh entered Kashmir on 9th of November, 1846 A.D. After the capture of Kashmir, Maharaja Gulab Singh faced many difficulties from the hill tribes but was successful in putting down the insurrection from the tribes of Hazara, conquered the Chilas Fort, and tried to put down the frequent revolts from Gilgit but actually it was left to Maharaja Ranbir Singh to subjugate Gilgit. Thus Maharaja's state constituted the provinces of Ladakh, Gilgit and Baltistan, Kashmir and Jammu.

Maharaja Gulab Singh came from the ruling family of Jammu. This family had tried to maintain their independence. They had to pay a tribute to the rulers of Hindustan but on the disintegration of the Mughal empire they got complete independence. In 1808 A.D. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Punjab brought the Jammu province under his control. Gulab Singh and his brother Dhian Singh went to Lahore where the former entered the Durbar as a trooper and gained fame by participating in many battles. In 1819 A.D. The Jammu *Chakla* was granted to Gulab Singh in Jagir, and his brothers Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh got the jagirs of Punch and Ramnagar respectively, Gulab Singh maintained the internal peace at Jammu and took part in many battles waged by the Lahore Durbar. In 1846 A.D. he took over Kashmir from the British.

Maharaja Gulab Singh based his power on force and absolute monarchy. He brought the principle of persónal rule to perfection and claimed himself to be the state with every right on his people and their labour. He believed in the colonial Maxim that "all that is yours is mine and all that is mine is my own", so was the master of everything-living and non-living and the ruled were expected to work all the time for the benefit of the master and his officials, virtually he kept his subjects in a state of slavery. He had purchased Kashmir and was eager to make good that money which he had invested in its purchase, so he extorted a sum far in excess from a society, which was trodden down by the tyranny of centuries. In the acquisition of wealth he exercised many arts and his way of justice was quite novel.

It was in 1856 A.D. that Maharaja Gulab Singh held the coronation of his son Ranbir Singh and died in 1857 A.D. Maharaja Ranbir Singh was, no doubt, kind and simpler than his predecessor. He reformed the army and also education. A large number of other reforms were also introduced by him. But he had no capable officers who could join hands with him in removing the defects of the government. Valley was still in the hands of grinding tyranny and oppression. The society groaned under the rule that plunged the people into misery. Everything

was on decline and liable to change at the risk of chance. The rulers held grand Durbar when the people were dying due to scarcity of food.

The tools and agencies employed by the rulers in carrying the administrative machinery were exploitative. Various privileged classes came to the front and became a part of the socio-economic structure of the valley, though in origin some of them were exotic. They ranked from governors to the petty officials and were the products and perpetuators of an ignorant and destructive age. They were the worst tyrants to their own people and lived free on the exactions made on the people. Maharaja Gulab Singh encouraged and awarded those officers who collected extra sums in addition to normal revenue taxes. The people enjoyed no rights or privileges but were liable to the duty of paying the government demands. The officials in charge of revenue collection and other departments were members of the privileged segment of society who were exempted from payment of taxes and enjoyed easy living. A new element was introduced in the administration of Kashmir with the appointment of Governors and Jagirdars from outside.

Agriculture was the main sector of economy and more than eighty percent of the population depended on it. The villages were picturesque and beautiful but most of them were tenantless and disserted, fallen into ruins. The people left their lands and houses owing to the oppression exercised on them by the corrupt officials. The soil was rich and water plentiful, yet the peasant was indigent. During the normal years the agriculture out-put was abundant and the *Shali* was even exported to the neighbouring states. But in this land of plenty there was acute poverty. The peasants produced enormous wealth with the sweat of their brows but it was difficult for them to make both the ends meet. They looked like beggars and asked for alms which they rarely got. Most of them had to live for many months of the year on the fruits and wild herbs. Their conditions were further worsened by the natural calamities which occurred during the period under study. In the famine of 1865 A.D. the people were

drowned in the Wular lake and the terrible catastrophe of 1877 A.D. which continued upto 1879. A.D. took a heavy tole of life and the Government again turned to the shameful measure of drowning them. The worst sufferers were the peasants and the shawl-weavers. Though government tried to import the grains and adopted some preventive measures but the officers were never so cruel to people than in the famine. The government had during the earlier years, allowed no person to cross the border under Rahdari system but at the end of 1878 A.D. the ban was lifted and people migrated in thousands to the plains of India. Cholera was a frequent visitor to the city due to the insanitary conditions of Kashmir, the fires, floods and earthquakes also had devastating effects on the economic conditions of the people.

The land revenue system and its collection was haphazard. The ownership rights were vested with the ruler who was the sole proprietor of the land and the cultivator could be evicted at any amount. The long chain of revenue officials were frequently transferred or dismissed so they were quick to amass as much wealth from the peasants as they could during their tenure of office.

The land revenue was collected both in cash and kind, which was most irksome, unmanageable and expensive. The Government had a monopoly in *Shali* which was sent to the state granaries. The revenue system was such that regardless of the peasant's effort—he was left with barely enough to get along till the next harvest but it was the right of other people to be well-fed. The method of revenue collection was harassing to the peasants who were plundered by the revenue officials and were subjected to severe penalties if they dared to use little crop for themselves or even if an animal ate a little of the stacked grain, the owner of the animal was severely punished. If the peasants could not satisfy the revenue officials, they were deprived of their cattle and sheep.

There was the absence of any settled land revenue system, one system followed the other, each being more faulty than the previous one. Obviously, the revenue demand was not fixed but

it varied from village to village and also from time to time. It is no wonder that the peasants were not only left to suffer but a discrimination was made between peasants of Kashmir and those of Jammu. The Jammu peasants were treated mostly as the owners of land while as the peasants of Kashmir were treated only as serfs with no proprietary rights in land nor to its produce. Thus there was no other choice left to them but to flee from their villages and roam from one village to another.

Very little care was taken for the welfare of the people. They had monopolized the maximum number of products of the valley. Everything was taxed except the air and water which was in abundance in the valley The peasants had to pay the water-cess too. In addition, they were subjected to *begar* (forced labour), which was not only maintained but also fastened. The peasants had to carry the loads to Gilgit and Chilas and many of them died on the way and it was a miracle if any one returned safe and alive. The oppression on the peasants through this institution was much more than the extortion of the tax-collector who even left a little subsistence allowance to them or left them live on fruits and vegetables. But the institution of begar meant separation for the villagers from their families with prospects of perpetual torture and imminent death. Their absence from their fields during the sowing or ripening time caused a lot of damage to agriculture resulting in decrease of produce. Scarcity was prevalent which meant a loss both to the cultivator and the government.

The Srinagar city presented a very sad picture. The streets were full of filth and in absence of any system of drainage the city became an inferno. Consequently, unhealthy conditions prevailed in the city. Cholera broke out with greater frequency in the city and caused a considerable loss of human life. In the city the people were mostly engaged in arts and crafts and in various trades and industries. The shawl-weavers were highly taxed by the government. The department of Dagh-i-Shawl further worsened their conditions. They were shut into the unventilated rooms by the *karkhanadars* who oppressed them. Most of them

cut their thumbs and fingers due to the tyranny of the *karkhanadars*. Other industries were also brought under the heavy taxation, as a result some of the workers died owing to unhealthy conditions and over-work. Those who survived were reduced to the lowest ebb. Inevitably the socio-economic conditions of the artisans were deplorable. The trade in various commodities was carried on under government supervision and heavy cesses were imposed on the trading activities of the people. The old system of weights and measures was used by the people which changed from place to place. Moreover, the government more oftenly changed the currency, which caused a heavy loss both to the state and the people.

All this reduced the standard of living of the people. The people usually were found in tattered clothes. Even if a person had a tolerably useable wear he avoided it simply to escape the nose of the tax collector. No doubt, there main item of diet was rice but most of them were denied the same, and widely used the wild herbs and fruits. They took fish for their diet but it is a well-known fact that during the period under study the superstitious Maharaja Ranbir Singh forbade the people to eat the fish because he was told by the priests that the soul of his father, the late Maharaja Gulab Singh had transmigrated into the body of fish. The people, who were driven by hunger during famine of 1865 A.D. to eat the fish, were severely punished. People lived in filthy cottages. The least out-ward show or a neat appearance would have meant a better position and imposition of taxes on the people. Oppression and tyranny took the life and heart out of them and they lost their betterselves. They learnt to lie to save themselves and their families from any official engine of oppression.

The Kashmiri society consisted of various classes and tribes. The social gradation was marked by the possession of wealth, which alone determined the division of the people into various segments. The majority of the people both Hindus and Muslims were orthodox, superstitious and chiefly under the strange hold of the priests. Both respected their religious places, Gurus, Pirs

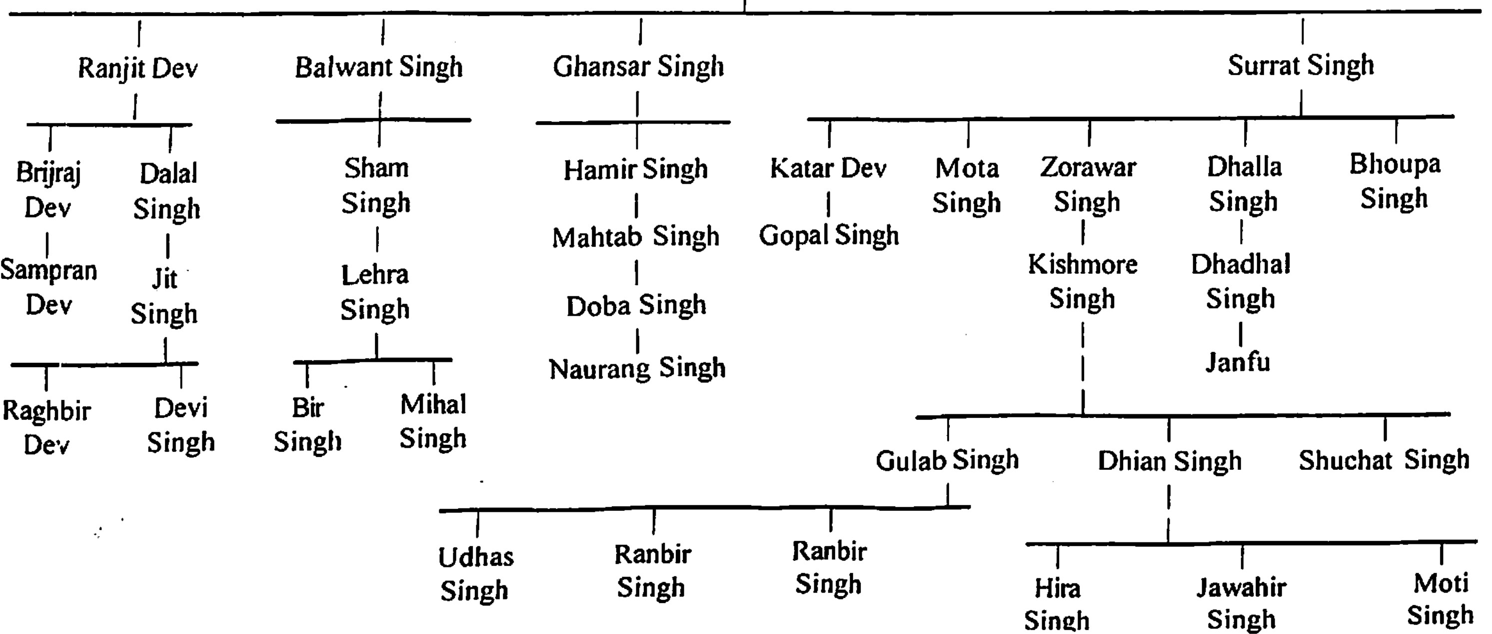
and Fakirs. The Hindu-Muslim relations were harmonious in the Valley. Sometimes even the rulers tried to intervene into their lives and sow the seeds of discord between them. The system of education was traditional in the hands of Mullas and Pandits. But the British Missionaries tried their best and founded a few schools in the Valley. Likewise, the Kashmiris depended on the oriental medicines but with the arrival of the Medical Missionaries better and most modern medical facilities became available to the people. All this was happening much against the wishes of their ruler. The traffic in women continued, the prostitution, gambling and drinking was not only encouraged but also fastened.

This was the picture of the political and administrative setup, economic and socio-cultural spheres of the people of Kashmir from 1846 A.D. to 1885 A.D. It must be said that if there had been a ruler whose chief concern were the welfare of the people and not the exaction of money, the position would have been quite different. Since Maharaja Gulab Singh had invested his money in the purchase of Kashmir, he wanted to recover the money with the profit thereon. The example of exacting money was faithfully followed by his subordinates. So it is no wonder that when a ruler, Maharaja Ranbir Singh wanted to introduce some reforms he had no agency to carry them out.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX - I

Genealogical Table of the Family of Jammu Rajas



APPENDIX NO. II

Treaty between the British Government and Lahore Durbar signed at Lahore.

Selected Articles from the Treaty of Lahore, March 9, 1846.

Article 2

The Maharajah of Lahore renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, all claim to, or connection with, the territories lying to the south of the River Sutlej, and engages never to have any concern with those territories, or the inhabitants thereof.

Article 3

The Maharajah codes to the Honourable Company in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights, in the Doab, or Country, hill and plain, situate between the River Beas and Sutlej.

Article 4

The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State, as indemnification for the expenses of the war, in addition to the cession of territory described in Article 3, payment of one and a half crores of rupees, and the Lahore Government being unable to pay the whole of this sum at this time, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment, the Maharaja codes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights and interests, in the hill countries which are situate between the River Beas and Indus, Including the provinces of Cashmere and Hazarah.

Article 12

In consideration of the services rendered by Rajah Golab Singh of Jammu, to the Lahore State, towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Government, the Maharaja hereby agrees to recognize the independent sovereignty of Rajah Golab Singh, in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Rajah Golab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been the Rajha's possession since the time of the late Maharaja Khurruk Singh, and the British Government, in consideration of the good conduct of Rajah Golab Singh, also agrees to recognize his independence in such territories, and to admit him to the privilege of a separate treaty with the British Government.

Article 13

In the event of any dispute or difference arising between the Lahore State and Rajah Golab Singh, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government, and by its decision the Maharajah engages to abode.

Extracted from:

The Building of the Jammu and Kashmir State Being the achievement of Maharaja Gulab Singh—Arjun Nath Sapru—Appendix–III.

APPENDIX NO. III

The Treaty of Amritsar

Treaty between the British Government and Maharajah Gulab Singh, concluded at Amritsar, on March 16, 1846.

Treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor–General appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person.

Article 1

The British Government transfers, and makes over, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the River Indus, and westward of the River Ravee, including Chamba and excluding Lahoul, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore dated March 9, 1846.

Article 2

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharaja Gulab Singh, shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, respectively, for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement, after survey.

Article 3

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs, by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of Seventy-five Lacs of rupees (Nanuchshahee), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before the Ist of October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4

The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed, without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5

Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any dispute or questions that may arise between himself and the government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages, for himself and heirs, to join with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hill, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subjects of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles 5, 6 and 7, of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar dated March 11, 1846.

Article 9

The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh, in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10

Maharaja Gulab Sing acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government, one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved bread (Six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere Shawls.

This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor–General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person, and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.O.B., Governor–General.

Done at Amritsar, this 16th day of March, in the year or our Lord, 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rabee-ul-awal, 1262 Hijree.

GOLAB SINGH (L.S.)

H. HARDINGE (L.S.)
F. CURRIE
H. M. LAWRENCE

Extracted From:

The Building of the Jammu and Kashmir State Being the achievement of Maharaja Gulab Singh—Arjun Nath Sapru—Appendix–V.

APPENDIX No. IV

The Final Receipt for the Purchase of Kashmir:

Final Receipt for the purchase of Kashmir signed by the Board of Administration (copy in the Punjab Record Office, Museum).

"The Honourable The East India Company having received from His Highness the Maharaja Gulab Singh the sum of Rs. 75,00,000 (seventy five lacs) in payment of the amount guaranteed by the III Article of the Treaty between the Honourable Company and His Highness, Amritsar, 16th March, 1846. The single acknowledgement of the receipt of the whole amount is granted by the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab, at the request of Dewan Jowalla Sarae, in addition to the receipts already given to His Highness's agents by the receiving officers, for the instalments received by them from time to time between the date of the Treaty and the 14th March 1850, the day on which the last instalment was paid into the Lahore Treasury."

H. M. Lawrence
John Lawrence
Lahore, 29th March, 1850. C. E. Mansel.

Punjab Government Record Office, Publications Monograph No.: 12, 1931. Cit. Sapru, Arjun Nath, The Building of the Jammu and Kashmir State—Being the Achievement of Maharaja Gulab Singh.

APPENDIX NO. V

KOUL

The following items were supposed to be permanent and were known as Koul:

			Chilki
	Rs.	A.	P.
Half-share of Kharif and rabi crops	520	0	0
Item on account of Walnut Trees	63	12	0
Lump sum paid for land cultivated by shawl-weavers and for land under vegetables.	138	12	0
An advance on the original assessment made by a Pandit. The Pandit failed to pay, but the state insisted on the village paying the advance (Izad boli).	300	0	0
Item for jungle produce	7	0	0
Item for grass and village officers	9	0	0
Total	1,038	8	0

But in 1883 the state levied in addition the following taxes:

Tax of 2 percent (Do Kharwari)	18	13	0
Sale, Jalus (sala is a tax on account of a Sanskrit school)	18	13	0

Jalus is a tax on account of expenses of English visitors.	18	13	0
Kanungo tax.	3	14	0
Patwari tax.	3	14	0
Tax on account of Maharaja's temple.	2	8	0
Khitmatgars	1	4	0
Tax on account of establishments	77	3	0
Tax on account of land granted to Chakdar. The Chakdar did not cultivate, so the village was called upon to pay the amount assessed on the Chakdar's land.	58	9	0
Tax on account of apricot trees (it is worthy of notice that there are no apricot trees).	10	0	0
Various taxes–(1) loss on ponies seized by the state and paid for at prices for below market price, (2) Nazarana, (3) tax for support of temples, (4) tax on occasion of marriage in Royal houses, (5) tax for dispensary.	99	0	0
Total	293	14	0

RASUM

The perquisites (rasum) taken in one year in addition to the revenue were as follows:

	Amount Chilki		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Tehsildars	12	0	0
Tehsildar's assistant	8	0	0
Naib Tehsildar	8	0	0

Naib Tehsildar's assistant	5	0	0
Parche Navis	5	0	0
Mir Chaudhri	13	0	0
Mir Zilladar	5	0	0
Zilladar	10	0	0
Rassad Talabana	25	0	0
Blankets taken	4	0	0
Ponies	22	Price was Rs. 10/- Price given by the officials was Rs. 6/- 0	0
Item for permission to pay as revenue 1 Kharwar of cotton.	5	Price was Rs. 40/- officials gave Rs. 6/- 0	0
Ghie taken	12	0	0
Sheep taken	6	0	0
Violets, Zira and Guchis	4	0	0
Chob-I-kot	21	0	0
Wool	12	0	0
Sheep taken	8	0	0
Share of crop taken by Zilladar	9	0	0
Share of crop taken by Mir Chaudhri	7	0	0
Share of crop taken by Patwari and Lambardar.	7	0	0
Item taken by Police	6	0	0
Tehsil establishment	7	0	0
Wasil Baki Navis	10	0	0
Tehsil treasurer	2	0	0